War Stories(3)The Bilibid Prison and the Hellships (July 1942-January 1945)

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戦史（3）— ビリビッド捕虜収容所とヘルシップ（1942年７月～1945年１月）

Karen Ann TAKIZAWA
滝沢　カレン・アン

私の祖父，米国海軍医療隊軍医カリー・ミラー・スミスは，第二次世界大戦中にコレヒドール島で捕虜になり，それから終戦まで日本軍の捕虜として過ごした。本論文では，1942年７月２日，彼がマニラのビリビッド捕虜収容所に入り，収容所病院で働き始めてから，７週間の地獄船の旅を経て九州の門司に到着した1945年１月30日までを扱う。また，祖父等を運ぶヘルシップが立ち寄った台湾南部の港町，高雄にあるヘルシップメモ―リアルを訪問して調べたことを書き加える。

I first read my grandfather's manuscript about his experiences in World War II when I was in junior high school, and I thought of it as a topic when I had to make a speech in one of my classes at that time. I focused on his life as a prisoner of war after his capture on Corregidor in 1942, and when I talked about the amount of food the prisoners were given to eat, I held out a small handful of Uncle Ben's® uncooked rice as a visual aid. Nobody blinked, but afterwards, I could tell that my Speech teacher, Mrs. Margaret Thornton, who must have been a young woman during World War II and may have heard similar stories, was intensely interested. In this article, I will cover that same period of time, from July 2, 1942, the day my grandfather entered Bilibid Prison in Manila, where he worked in the hospital, until January 30, 1945, when he arrived in Moji on the island of Kyushu after a harrowing seven-week journey by sea on first the Oryoku Maru, then the Enoura Maru and the Brazil Maru. I will also report on a visit to Kaohsiung, the port city in southern Taiwan formerly known as Takao, to see the place where the hellships made a stop on their way to Japan.

My Grandfather's Story

When Corregidor fell on May 6, 1942, my grandfather was in the hospital lateral of the Malinta Tunnel. He and the rest of the newly-captured American medical staff and patients were kept on the

island until July 1, 1942, when orders were given to load all patients and equipment at the hospital on Corregidor on board ship for the trip to Manila. The next day, they sailed for Manila and all hospital personnel and patients who were able to walk were marched from the port to Old Bilibid Prison in downtown Manila[1]. The main hospital for the POWs was located in this prison, and my grandfather worked there for almost two and a half years, until mid-December 1944, when he was put on the Oryoku Maru as part of the last group of POWs to be evacuated from the Philippines as the Americans closed in[2].

Beginning life as a POW. *About 3 PM on July 2, 1942, I arrived at Bilibid Prison carrying all of my personal belongings, which consisted of one change of khaki clothing, a bath towel, a washcloth, and a few toilet articles. Upon arrival, we were assembled in the outer compartment of Bilibid Prison and searched by Japanese guards. Those who had personal items of value lost them at this time, as any time a guard, while searching a prisoner's equipment, came across anything that he wanted he took the liberty of appropriating it for his own personal use.*

The layout of Old Bilibid Prison. *It might be well at this time to briefly describe the Bilibid Prison compound. This prison site is located within the city of Manila and had been used for years as the penitentiary for Filipino civilian criminals. Two years before the war, the New Bilibid Prison outside the city of Manila was completed and civilian criminals were moved to the new site. Thus for two years before the war the Old Bilibid Prison compound was used by the Philippine government Department of Highways and contained many supplies that were used in maintaining of roads and communications throughout the island of Luzon.*

The prison compound is about 3 city blocks in one direction and 2 city blocks in another direction, thus enclosing what would be about 6 square blocks of average size found in American cities. The compound was surrounded by an 18-foot wall constructed of adobe, stone, and concrete. The wall was two feet thick. During the time that this place was used as a prison camp, the top of the wall was equipped with high tension electric wires to prevent prisoners from escaping. At the entrance to the prison compound was an old two-story frame building that had been used for administration offices by the prison department. This building was used to house convalescent patients and Japanese guards. It also contained the rice storage room, an improvised tailor shop, a cobbler shop and on the second deck was

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[1] General Jonathan Wainwright, who had surrendered the island to the Japanese, had been taken off Corregidor and confined to the University Club at the corner of Dewey Boulevard and South Avenue in Manila; he and his staff watched this sorry parade from the window. (Hubbard & Davis, p. 144)

[2] MacArthur returned with the US Army for the Battle of Leyte (October 20 - December 31, 1944, and the US Navy won a decisive victory in the Second Battle of the Philippine Sea (October 23 - 26, 1944).

located the camp's library. Between this building and the street were two other Filipino-type-structure houses that were used as living quarters for the Japanese guards and Japanese camp administration personnel.

The compound was separated into two equal-sized sections by a wall similar to that surrounding the compound. One section of this prison was used by the Japanese to imprison Filipino and other national civilians who had undergone court-martial procedures by the Japanese military. It also contained recaptured guerillas, both American and Filipino. There were about a dozen women in the prison in this section of Bilibid compound. The two units of the prison were isolated from each other and the only contact between them was when a prisoner became so sick that he required hospitalization. Then he would be transferred over to the main or hospital side of Bilibid.

The section of Bilibid used as an American prison camp was constructed on a semi-circle pattern, the buildings radiating toward a central building that had been used for a prison chapel, but was used by the Japanese for a guard house for their military guard. The compound contained two L-shaped buildings, 25 feet wide, both wings of the "L" measuring 40 feet; 6 rectangular buildings 25 feet in width and 120 feet in length; 1 building 25 feet square. Within the compound there were two small buildings 20 feet square that were surrounded by a wall within the prison wall; these had been used for the solitary confinement and electrocution chamber when the compound was used as a civilian prison. All of the above-mentioned buildings were of stone, adobe and concrete structure, all had concrete deck, and all had galvanized sheet metal roof; they were all about 20 feet in height. The rectangular buildings had a door on opposite sides at each end. The windows were 6 feet wide and 10 feet high and were closed in with vertical steel bars, spaced at 5-inch intervals. These buildings had been used for prison cell blocks. The windows were boarded up with board shutters to keep out the rain and to permit ventilation. The two buildings that had been used for solitary confinement and execution chambers contained one small door entrance and one heavily barred window. Most of the buildings contained one toilet stool and one faucet with running water.

The back section of the compound was walled off from the main section containing the above-mentioned buildings. In the rear section there were 2 wooden structure buildings, one 15 by 20 feet and the other 15 by 40 feet. These two buildings were used as hospital wards. A third building and shed-like structure, 30 feet square, was used for the galley storeroom and the galley firebox space for heating the cauldrons in which to cook the soup and rice. Two concrete stone buildings each 16 feet by 30 feet were separated into 3 compartments each by vertical iron bars. These two buildings were used, one for isolating dysentery cases, and the other for tubercular and psychopathic patients. This section of the compound also contained what had been originally planned as a small hospital for the civilian prison. This was a two-story building 40 feet by 200 feet built of reinforced concrete, it being only half completed. There were no windows in the building, no toilets, and only a part of the roof covering. This

building was used to house incoming drafts of prisoners, who were awaiting transportation from Manila to Japan.

The cemetery. *A cemetery was laid out in the back section of the compound. This burial plot was an L-shaped design and contained double rows of graves with a small walk between the rows. I believe that this burial plot contained approximately 200 graves. All graves were marked with a cross made of a 2 by 6 material, the cross being about 3 feet high with a crossbar about 2 feet in length. On the crossbar of each grave was carved the name, rate or rank, and date of death. This burial plot was maintained very attractively throughout the period of prison life. Lawn, flowers, and shrubbery covered the area. This burial plot in some places was only 20 feet from the main camp galley.*

Water and electricity. *The compound had electric lights, all buildings being wired, but there was a great deal of difficulty in getting electric light bulbs, so each individual ward was indeed fortunate if it had more than one light bulb. The water on the compound was from the same source as the water for the city of Manila, and in general it was palatable. However, there was a period of 3 or 4 months late in 1944 when the water filtering system for the city of Manila was not functioning properly, and it became necessary to boil all of the drinking water that was used. The compound was connected with the Manila city sewer system, and in addition to the toilet stools in each building, there were provided over the compound 3 straddle trench structures that drained into manholes of the city sewer system. These straddle trenches were provided with an automatic water-flushing system constructed from a 50-gallon oil drum. They were very sanitary and worked very satisfactorily. On the compound, there were 3 racks provided with running water for the washing of clothing. There was also an outside shower bath arrangement and racks for dishwashing.*

Garbage disposal. *One of the "L" buildings was used for sick officers' quarters, the warrant officers' quarters, and a small section of this building served as the commissary store. The garbage disposal during the time from July 2, 1942, until January 1944 was very satisfactory. The regular Manila city garbage trucks entered the compound and removed the garbage. During most of 1944 garbage disposal was a very difficult and serious proposition, due to the irregularity of the garbage trucks. The greatest problem during this period seemed to be that there was no gasoline available for the city's use in operating the garbage trucks; consequently there would be periods of 4 or 5 days at a time in which garbage would remain in the compound in containers which soon became quite a sanitary problem, both as to odor and fly breeding. There were many times during this period when it became necessary to bury the garbage inside Bilibid compound.*

Hospital building assignments and use. *Buildings number 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 16 were all used as patient wards. Building number 4 was used as staff officer quarters and as hospital corpsmen quarters. Building number 5 was used as hospital corps quarters. Building number 7 served as headquarters building for the hospital administration office, pharmacy, drug storage room,*

laboratory, eye, ear, nose and throat, dental, ex-ray department and also as a dispensary for holding camp sick call and treating emergency cases.

On one end of building 6 there was a space 20 feet by 16 feet that was walled off and used as an operating room. This operating unit contained an autoclave, electrical instrument sterilizer, instrument cabinet, operating table, and anesthetic machine. All of this equipment had been used by the army on Corregidor and at the time that the patients were moved from Corregidor to Bilibid, the hospital equipment was transferred. The Japanese permitted the hospital to keep and utilize these items. There were plenty of surgical instruments, spinal anesthesia, cotton, gauze, and operating room linen to carry out the average major surgical operation. In fact, during the two and a half years that Bilibid Hospital functioned there was an average of 25 to 30 major operations performed each month. These operations included appendectomies, herniorrhaphies, liver abscesses, cholecystectomies, gastroenterostomy, various amputations, corrective post-war surgery, ruptured peptic ulcers, tonsillectomies, rib resections, sub-mucous resections, hemorrhoids, and urological surgery.

Effects of beri-beri[3]**.** *During 1944, one of the busiest departments on the compound was the eye, ear, nose, and throat. At this time, there were a great many cases of beri-beri optic neuritis and optic atrophy. A very careful check including eye grounds and visual fields were kept on all of these types of cases.*

Hospital equipment. *The dental department functioned with equipment that was brought from Corregidor. There were two dental units in operation. At times supplies were insufficient, but in general a fair type of dental treatment was given to needy prisoners. Ex-ray equipment also came from Corregidor. With this equipment it was possible to give ex-ray therapy to many skin lesions. The fluoroscopic unit was of great value to the orthopedic department. Early in prison life, a few ex-ray films were provided, but in general the film supply was very inadequate. Laboratory equipment also came from Corregidor. This equipment was sufficient to carry out the routine laboratory procedures, such as urinalysis, blood counts, blood sedimentation, Kahn tests*[4] *and so forth. Many of the drugs that were dispensed by the pharmacy unit were from the original supplies of the Canacao Naval Hospital, the Corregidor medical supplies, and the American Red Cross. Facilities were adequate for the compounding and dispensing of available drugs.*

Red Cross packages. *In November 1943 a large supply of Red Cross medicine and food arrived in Manila via the SS Gripsholm. Apparently, a great deal of forethought and consideration had been given in the selection of the medicines and equipment that were forwarded by the Red Cross. This shipment contained the average variety of medicines that could be found in any small modern hospital in*

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[3] A disease caused by a deficiency of thiamine

[4] For the diagnosis of syphilis

the States. Its arrival was very timely as nearly all of the available war-time medicines were exhausted by late 1943. Bilibid hospital unit was the central storage location of all Red Cross medicines, and from this supply requisitions were filled and forwarded for use in the various prison camps over the Philippine Islands. The allotting and dispensing of medical requisitions to prison camps was authorized and controlled by the Japanese medical officer in charge of Bilibid.

The medications used in wards in Bilibid were drawn from dispensary upon ward requisition, and while inadequate in amount and variety, they did provide many of the necessary types of medicines. This shipment of drugs contained a large amount and variety of vitamins. These were dispensed not only to Bilibid patients, but to Bilibid camp personnel in general. For many months, the entire population on the compound received 2 multiple vitamins daily.

Upon arrival of the Red Cross drugs from the States, every packing box and practically every small carton were opened and thoroughly inspected by the Japanese military police. This inspection was done in Bilibid compound. In general, it was a useless procedure, as each packing crate contained a bill of lading, itemizing its contents. However, the Japanese were not satisfied until they had opened and fingered every item in the drug shipment.

Beds and bedding. *Early in prison life the buildings used for hospital wards were very crowded and contained very few beds. Most of the patients slept on the concrete deck, a space of 2 feet being allowed for each patient. Their clothing was very meager and likewise their bedding. After the arrival of supplies and equipment from Corregidor, many of the critically ill patients were provided with a steel bed and a mattress. In the compound, there were a few blankets and a very limited number of bed sheets. The hospital corpsmen occupied one and a half buildings. As time went on, from available lumber in the compound, they constructed themselves various types of wooden beds, usually in tiers of 2 and 3 in height. These beds consisted merely of platforms on which to sleep, as very few of them had any bedding.*

Cooking facilities. *The staff medical officers occupied one half of one building. They also slept on rudely constructed platform beds. There was enough space so that beds were single deck with possibly 2 to 3 feet distance between each bunk. The staff quarters contained in one end of the building a small galley section, in which we were permitted to have 3 or 4 electric hot plates for individual food cooking. The hospital staff had its own mess and drew their allotted rations from the main galley, the same as patients in the wards. In addition to this they were able, at times, to supplement the general mess chow with items purchased through the commissary store.*

Use of the hospital buildings. *Buildings number 8 and 9 were probably the most dreary buildings on the compound, as they had been used for the prison's solitary confinement and electrocution chamber. When the compound became overcrowded, these two buildings were utilized the same as all other buildings for the sleeping of hospital patients and prisoners. During most of 1944, the electrocution chamber was used for the charting of eye ground visual fields on starvation eye cases. Building 12 was*

divided into 3 sections. One of these sections was used as an isolation space for active tuberculosis patients. This space would accommodate about half a dozen patients. The other two sections of this building were used to care for psychopathic cases, of which there were usually from 15 to 25 in the compound at all times. Building number 13 was used for amoebic dysentery cases. This building would accommodate about 25 patients and was full at all times; in fact, late in 1944 it became necessary to allot a section of the uncompleted prison hospital building for the treatment and isolation of dysentery patients. A large number of deaths in the hospital were due to amoebic dysentery. The sanitary facilities and general prison conditions made it very hard to treat and prevent the spread of dysentery. Buildings number 14 and 16 were both used as hospital wards. These two wooden buildings were really more shed structures than buildings. Many of the senile prisoners were quartered in these buildings.

Building number 15 served as a galley storeroom and a galley cooking space. The main camp cooking facilities consisted of about a dozen cauldrons, 2 feet deep and 4 to 5 feet in diameter. These cauldrons were fitted in concrete brick fireboxes and were used for cooking rice, fish, and soup. The wood for cooking the food was always a problem in prison camp. Principal source of supply of the wood was from the Cabanatuan prison camp, located in central Luzon north of Manila. The wood was brought to Manila by train and then by truck into Bilibid compound. Usually it came into the compound in the form of small logs, which had to be cut to firewood length and split into small sticks by prison labor. The usual allowance of wood was one kilogram per day per prisoner. This generally proved inadequate. There were many times when the arrival of wood in the camp was late and irregular, resulting in delay and confusion in cooking the food.

The incomplete two-story prison hospital building served principally as a wood storage and wood chopping space during the rainy season. Late in 1944, when there were many prisoners being assembled in Bilibid for outgoing drafts to Japan, this building was utilized as living and sleeping space for prisoners. It contained no sanitary facilities and usually had one or two electric lights. The prisoners slept on the concrete deck and as the building had no windows, but numerous window openings, and was only partially roofed, it was far from adequate for the housing of human beings, especially in rainy weather.

Camp library. *Bilibid prison camp had a fairly large library of many good recent books. Most of these came from the library of the University Club in the city of Manila. Some came from the school library at Baguio, while others were contributed to the library by prisoner personnel stationed in the camp. The Red Cross shipment arriving November 1943 contained quite a number of recent books, some medical, some religious, some educational, and many fiction. The library also contained a fairly large file of magazines that had been contributed by nationals in the city of Manila. This library was used extensively by both patients and prisoner personnel.*

Clothing. *The tailor shop was one of the busiest departments on the compound. This shop was*

manned by prisoner personnel and equipped with 3 old sewing machines. A great deal of work was turned out by this department, as the issue of new clothing was practically nil. The old clothing that was in possession of the prisoners at the time of surrender began to show evidence of wear and was kept in serviceable condition by frequent repair by the tailor shop. During the entire two and a half years in Bilibid prison, to the best of my knowledge, I received as a general issue from the Japanese the following clothing: 4 hand towels, about half dozen pair of Japanese sox, and about half a dozen g-strings.

Shoes. *The cobbler shop was also a very busy department. Upon arrival of Red Cross supplies late in 1943, there were in this equipment a few complete units for the repair of shoes, including leather soles. The shoes for the prisoners who worked on outside work details from Bilibid camp were kept in repair, and there were enough serviceable shoes to provide all prisoners who had to work outside of the camp. Most of the prisoners and patients who remained in Bilibid were not provided with shoes. Most everybody wore self-constructed wooden clops or go-aheads. The Red Cross shipment contained a number of pairs of shoes, but not sufficient to provide shoes for more than about a third of the camp.*

The commissary store. *The prison camp operated a commissary store under the supervision of a Navy pay clerk. During 1942 and parts of 1943, this store was a great asset, as through the store the camp was able to secure a fair variety and a reasonable amount of merchandise from the outside. This merchandise was purchased with the sanction of the Japanese camp administration, the commissary being allowed to purchase merchandise in the amount equal to the Japanese pay roll for each month; that is, if the pay roll was 7,000 pesos for the month, the commissary was allowed to purchase and resell 7,000 pesos worth of merchandise. The outside source of purchase was through a Japanese merchant who had been in business in Manila prior to the outbreak of war. This Japanese individual apparently did what he could to provide the merchandise; however, it must be recalled that he was a businessman and received pay for all merchandise delivered.*

The following items were available to the commissary store during 1942 and most of 1943: bananas, eggs, coconuts, peanuts, papayas, pineapples, tobacco, mongo beans, and a crudely refined type of sugar that had been used to feed calesa ponies before the war. During the year 1944, many of the above-mentioned items were not available; in fact, it must not be assumed that all of the above-mentioned items in amounts desired were always available in the commissary store. The Japanese merchant would deliver merchandise in the compound about once a week, and in general, an individual could consider himself fortunate if during a month's time he was permitted to buy more than a dozen bananas, a ganta[5] of peanuts, a papaya or two, a dozen eggs, about half enough smoking tobacco to satisfy the requirements of an average user, and a proportionate share of other available items.

Prison salaries. *The Japanese paid officer and medical department personnel and, in addition, a*

[5] Tagalog word meaning a unit of dry measure equivalent to 3 liters

small number of camp maintenance or utility men. The amount of pay received was proportioned according to rank, the highest ranking individual officer, that is, the field officer class, drawing 40 pesos, company officers, 30 pesos, and enlisted medical department rates graduated in scale of pay from 2 to 12 pesos. The entire amount of money paid into the compound determined the amount of merchandise that the camp was permitted to buy. Every individual in Bilibid, regardless of his rate or rank or pay status, had equal purchasing power. In general, the average monthly census of Bilibid over a two and a half year period was 1,200 to 1,400. The average monthly pay roll was 7,000 to 9,000 pesos. Thus, the buying power of each individual in camp would be about 6 pesos per person a month, or about $3.00 American gold. Early in prison life this meant a great deal, but later prices were so inflated that the purchasing of supplies through the commissary store became somewhat of a joke. For illustration, before the war the price of a coconut in Manila was about 2 centavos, or one penny American money. By late 1944, prices were so inflated that what few coconuts came into the camp were sold at a price of 6 pesos, or $3.00 per coconut; other food items were proportionally high. Thus, it can be seen that a 6-peso purchasing power monthly was not a great asset in supplementing the diet.

The black market. *In addition to the merchandise that was sold by the commissary, for a while when working parties were taken from the camp into the city of Manila, there was in operation within the camp a black market of merchandise that was smuggled into the camp by members of the working parties. In general, the prices were prohibitive. The principal item was tobacco, not an absolute food necessity; however, strange as it may seem, there were many prisoners who would forego the rights and privileges of using their money and buying power to buy necessary food items in order to buy black market tobacco.*

Special diet kitchen. *The heavy sick*[6]*, according to Japanese classification, those patients whom in our terminology would be classified as seriously ill, were permitted to have additional food. Food for the heavy sick was provided by issue from the Japanese quartermaster department, Red Cross food that had been set aside for this specific purpose, and food that was purchased through the welfare fund from the commissary store. This special diet food was prepared and dispensed in a special diet kitchen, a small building about 15 feet square. This food was far from adequate for a seriously sick individual, but it did help supplement the regular issue diet. Patients who received special diet from this source were examined by a special diet board and just as soon as their physical condition made it possible to remove them from the special diet list, this had to be done because of inadequate supplies. The special diet kitchen was very ably handled by Lt. King, USA, a very capable man, who in civilian life was associated with International Milling Co., Minneapolis, Minn.*

All prisoners who drew pay from the Japanese government were privileged to contribute to a

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[6] A literal translation for the Japanese word for “serious illness”

general welfare fund. The average contribution of a field officer to this fund was 50 pesos monthly, and in general all other ranks and ratings contributed proportionately considering their pay schedule. This fund was utilized to purchase food for use of this special diet kitchen in supplementing the diet of the seriously sick. The money contributed to this fund was never actually paid to the individual prisoner, but it was a bookkeeping transaction of the Japanese paymaster in allotting a percent of each prisoner's salary to this fund.

Japanese postal savings. *In order that you may understand the pay situation as regard to prisoners, I might illustrate by saying that according to international law the Japanese were supposed to pay officer and medical corps personnel a salary comparable to that of their corresponding ranks in the Japanese military organization; thus, a commander in the USN would draw the same pay as a commander in the Japanese Navy, which amount was 195 pesos, or $87.50 gold per month. Actually, the Japanese did not pay a commander prisoner this amount in cash. A commander's pay was proportioned in the following manner: he was given 40 pesos in cash, allowed to contribute 50 pesos to the camp welfare fund, and the remainder of his pay was deposited in the Japanese postal savings. The Japanese stated that their reason for handling the pay situation in this manner was that when the war was over and the prisoners returned to their homeland as a defeated nation, the Japanese wanted them to have accumulated some money in the postal savings so that they might get a start in the world in civilian life. To the best of my knowledge at the end of the war, I had deposited in the Japanese postal savings approximately 3,400 pesos. In addition, over the 40-month period that I was a prisoner, the Japanese paid me approximately 1,600 pesos, or $800.00 gold. However, when one considers the purchasing power of this pay at the time that it was received compared with the prewar prices, actually the amount of purchasing power over the 40-month period was very limited.*

Plans for self-sufficiency in food. *Within Bilibid compound, the Japanese at times tried various endeavors to make the camp somewhat self-supporting; thus, there were times in the compound when there were as many as 75 to 100 pigs that were supposed to live on the compound garbage. In fact, many of the pigs, as well as the prisoners, practically starved to death on what little garbage was available, and none of the pigs maintained growth and development anything comparable to their life on the farm in the States. It was criminal and cruelty to animals to have kept them confined. A general procedure that was followed was that just before a pig was ready to die of starvation, it would be turned over to the galley to be prepared for food for the camp. At that time, the pig usually consisted of nothing more than skin and bones. The Japanese also tried the venture of raising ducks in the compound. They provided a flock of about 100 ducks, and within less than 3 months more than three fourths of the ducks had died of starvation. The Japanese became disgusted with this venture and permitted the galley to kill and eat the ones that were still alive. They also tried a gardening project. The soil in Bilibid compound was composed largely of cinders, sand, gravel, and rocks. Apparently, this plot had been filled in before it*

was used as a civilian prison. There were a few places on the compound in which there was enough good soil to at least grow grass. The Japanese idea in attempting a gardening project within the compound was to have the camp raise some of the food products that it consumed, but due to the limited space and type of soil, the end results of this project were practically nil. However, there were small plots in which they planted some camotes, a type of sweet potato, some okra, and tililium, a plant that was used as a substitute for greens. About the only thing that they harvested from these gardening projects was camote vines, which were used in making soup for the camp.

Daily life. *Daily routine of camp life was as follows: Morning tenko*[7]*, usually 6 AM. This was a company formation of all prisoners including patients who were able to stand, the purpose being to take an accurate count of the number of prisoners in the camp. Those prisoners living in each building assembled in military formation in close proximity to the building and stayed in formation until they were counted by the Japanese military guards. Those patients who were too sick to stand formation outside the buildings were counted in hospital wards. If the count was correct on the first round, the procedure of taking tenko would consume about 30 minutes, but it was only about one time in 3 that the count would be correct, thus necessitating a recount, which would take another 30 minutes; and occasionally a third check would have to be taken before a correct camp census was determined. After the tenko formation was dismissed, the morning meal would be served. Each building drew from the camp galley its portion of the meal, depending upon the number of prisoners living in that building. Food was drawn from the galley in 5 gallon gasoline tins or wooden boxes and was distributed in the wards equally among all prisoners. After breakfast meal was over, those members who were on the hospital staff would take up their official duties in the wards, caring for the sick patients. Other prisoners who were on camp maintenance detail would carry out their daily camp upkeep work. During the time when the camp was receiving three meals a day, the noon meal would be served about 12:00 o'clock. It was drawn from the galley and dispensed in the same manner as the breakfast meal. The afternoons were spent in performing routine hospital duties in caring for the patients, much the same type of duty as would be performed in a service hospital in the States. The evening meal was usually served about 6 PM, after which there was another tenko, which usually took from 30 minutes to an hour and a half.*

Religious services. *The compound was allowed to have lights in the buildings in the evening until 9 PM. During the early part of the evening, prisoners were allowed to wander any place in the compound, but at 9 PM, when the camp lights were turned out, all prisoners had to be in their assigned buildings, which place they stayed until morning tenko. The Japanese did not observe Sunday in the same manner as an Occidental. Their Sunday came on Friday, so as a general rule, Friday would be a full holiday. To most of the prisoners in the compound, the holiday did not mean much, as the camp*

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[7] Japanese word for "roll call"

maintenance and care of patients must be provided regardless of holiday. However, to those prisoners who were quartered in the compound and worked as a member of the Japanese working party on some working project outside the compound, the holiday routine for them meant a day of rest. The Japanese would usually permit the holding of divine services on Sunday. The camp had a regularly assigned prisoner Catholic and Protestant chaplain. Catholic Mass was held daily and Protestant services once or twice weekly.

Entertainment. *Over a period of two and a half years, there were probably a half dozen moving picture shows for the benefit of the camp. The movie unit was a portable affair and was operated by Filipino civilians. The moving pictures were American, usually 10 to 12 years old, and at every showing there would be about a half dozen reels of Japanese propaganda film, in which they would show achievements of their military forces in the Philippines, Singapore, China and the South Pacific Islands. These pictures were so ridiculous that they were indeed amusing. They were not taken very seriously by the prisoner personnel. In general, I do not believe that the prisoners fell for the Japanese military and co-prosperity propaganda line.*

About twice a month, the camp prison personnel would stage a musical and comedy stage performance. These programs were at times rather elaborate and entertaining, as among the prison personnel there was a variety of excellent talent along various lines. The entertainment program was under the supervision of Dr. Clyde Welch of Seattle, Washington. Under ordinary circumstances, I do not think they would have drawn a large attendance. However, in Bilibid, since they were one of the few varieties of entertainment, they were always very well attended. Bilibid compound had a very talented band made up of about a dozen different instruments. Some of the personnel of this group had been in the entertainment field in civil life and did a great deal for the camp morale in their work.

About 3 to 5 times a week somewhere in the compound, there would be an educational lecture by some prisoner who in civil life had had an interest in a type of work that would be of general interest to the camp members; as, for example, we might have a lecture on the types and manufacture of various cheeses, types of wines, meat packing, fruit canning, various farm projects, or industrial projects, such as construction of Grand Coulee Dam. These lectures were usually interesting, educational and were attended by a great number of prisoners.

Japanese language lessons. *Early in prison life, the Japanese attempted an educational program, in which they were going to teach all prisoners the Japanese language, as they thought and stated that their language was the up and coming language of the world and that within a very few years English would be a dead language. The attendance at these classes was voluntary. At first, there were possibly 40 or 50 prisoners in attendance at these sessions, but after a few sessions, the attendance dropped to about a half dozen. The Japanese gave up the project and could not seem to understand why the prisoners were not interested in learning their language.*

Burials. *When a prisoner died in Bilibid, the Japanese would permit a burial service to be held. For those prisoners who were buried in the cemetery within the compound, the body was usually wrapped in a shelter half or gunny sack, and about half of the time they were buried without coffins; other times they were buried in rudely constructed board coffins. As the burial grounds within the compound became exhausted, the bodies were removed to a civilian cemetery within the city of Manila. During the last half of 1944, all those who died in Bilibid were buried outside. The funeral party usually consisted of a chaplain, a Japanese guard, and one or two prison work details. The conveyance to the cemetery was a truck or sometimes a hand-pushed cart. The body was moved to the cemetery in a board box, dumped into the grave and the box returned to Bilibid until used by the next prisoner who died.*

Food supplies during the war. *During the period from outbreak of war until December 24, 1941, while the military forces were still in the city of Manila, food was plentiful; in fact, there was an overabundance, as efforts were made to collect all foods in military warehouses and accumulate them for the use of the military forces. All of the local medical units in Manila were well stocked. On December 24, when Manila was declared an open city and the military forces were evacuated to Bataan and Corregidor, they took with them a large amount of the food from Manila city. During the period from December 24 until January 1, there was nearly a steady stream of trucks transporting food and supplies from Manila to Bataan. On January 2, the Japanese military had reached San Fernando Pampanga, thus cutting the highway between Bataan and Manila and stopping transport of supplies to Bataan. On Bataan peninsula, the army and the navy had a small supply of food stores. In addition to this, the peninsula produced a considerable amount of rice, bananas, and pineapples.*

During the period of campaign on Bataan until the time of the fall of Bataan on April 8, 1942, the military forces were obliged to subsist on foods previously brought from Manila city, those food products that were produced on Bataan peninsula, and stores from Corregidor. Their meat supply was provided by killing caribou and mules and horses of the cavalry. For the first few weeks of the campaign, most of the soldiers ate fairly well, considering the fact that they were acting as front-line troops continuously. Later in the campaign, as food supplies began to dwindle and transportation difficulties increased, there were many times when a great number of the troops were forced to go without food for a day or two at a time.

The ration at its best was only about half that of the normal army ration. By the time of the fall of Bataan, many of the soldiers were showing the effects of a reduced diet and many of them were showing signs and symptoms of beri-beri and other nutritional deficiencies. All had lost a great deal of weight. The front line troops never received more than 2 meals daily, and there was no regularity or assurance that they would receive 2 meals. The army quartermaster headquarters was on Corregidor. Before Bataan fell, the Navy Department had transferred all of its foodstuffs to Corregidor.

During the period from the fall of Bataan, April 8, 1942, until the fall of Corregidor, May 6,

1942, the defenders of Corregidor were on a half ration and were served food twice daily. This food was of not much variety; practically all canned goods, as the supply of fruits and vegetables had been exhausted. The hospital unit at Corregidor was fed twice daily and received hardly enough food to keep a well man in good condition and certainly insufficient for the sick. At the time of the fall of Corregidor, it has been conservatively estimated that there was enough food in the storage section of the quartermaster department to provide a minimum amount of food for the troops for about six weeks. All of this foodstuff fell into the hands of the Japanese, and for many days after the fall of Corregidor, many of the prisoners worked loading this food on the ships of the Japanese. Thus, it was no longer available for American use.

The main body of prisoners after Corregidor surrendered was assembled in an area known as the 92nd Garage, where they remained until May 27, when they were taken to Manila city. During their stay at the 92nd Garage, they received a small daily ration of rice from the Japanese; otherwise, their food supply had to be made up from what they could salvage and from what they had brought with them from the fighting locations to this area when they were taken prisoner.

The hospital staff and patients remained in the hospital tunnel at Corregidor from the time of surrender on May 6, 1942, until June 26, 1942, at which time they were moved from the tunnel to what had been in peacetime Ft. Mills General Hospital on what was known as "Topside", where they remained until July 1, when they were loaded on board ship and taken to the city of Manila and to Bilibid prison camp. During the period from the time of surrender of Corregidor until they were moved to Bilibid, the hospital staff and patients were issued a small amount of rice by the Japanese. They were also issued a limited supply of quartermaster food that was stored in the tunnels. This food consisted of canned tomato, corned beef hash, and a small amount of flour. In addition to this, there was a very limited amount of cracked wheat. The sacks containing this food were labeled "American Red Cross", the specific labeling being, "A gift of the American people through the Red Cross." This food had been originally consigned to Hong Kong, but the ship carrying it was in Manila at the outbreak of the war, and the food was unloaded at Corregidor. It was a very welcome item.

Upon arrival at Bilibid on July 2, 1942, that prison camp was established and functioning under the control of the naval medical staff that before the war had operated Canacao Naval Hospital. The Japanese were providing a regular issue of rice and a few vegetables. For about the first year in Bilibid, the rice issue was enough so that practically every prisoner could get all the rice that he cared to eat. Late in 1943, the amount of rice issued was markedly decreased, and there was a period of about a year from October 1943 to October 1944 when there were many times in which there was not sufficient rice issued to provide the amount desired by prisoners. From October 1944 until late in December 1944, the rice issued by the Japanese was very inadequate, there being only enough issued to provide about one meal daily. During the early months of prison life in Bilibid, in addition to rice, the Japanese provided vegetables in

the form of beans, tomatoes, onions, camotes, papayas, squash, and leafy vegetables in sufficient amounts to keep those prisoners who were not on work at hard labor in fairly good health. During the year 1944, the issue of vegetables by the Japanese was markedly decreased in amount so that by late in 1944, the camp was receiving only occasional issues of greens.

During the last half of 1942 and most of 1943, the commissary store in Bilibid was able to procure a few items of food from outside the camp for sale to the prisoners. Such items as beans, peanuts, papayas, bananas, duck eggs, coconuts, and camotes were usually available in limited amounts.

Late in November 1943, the shipment of American Red Cross foods and medicines arrived in Manila and was made available to the war prisoners. This food was received in amounts sufficient to permit the issue of between 5 and 6 small boxes of Red Cross food for every prisoner. In addition to the individual issue to prisoners there was also a limited amount of bulk Red Cross supplies which were issued direct to the camp galley for cooking and distribution. These bulk supplies were rather limited and were soon exhausted. The Red Cross food contributed greatly to the welfare and morale of the prison personnel. By the time it had arrived, the Japanese issue of food was so markedly decreased, and many of the prisoners were showing the effects of malnutrition and deficiency diseases. The Red Cross food was a great help to this class of prisoner and undoubtedly contributed a great deal to their health and welfare. Late in 1944, the average calorie value of the diet available to prisoners in Bilibid was 1,200 to 1,400 calories. An individual may be able to subsist on this small amount of food for a short period of time, but it must be remembered that by late 1944 the prisoners had been on a reduced diet for practically 3 years, and many of them had just about reached the end of their endurance by the time the Philippines were retaken by American military forces.

The organization of Bilibid prison camp hospital. *On May 27, 1942, Bilibid prison camp was organized and put in operation by the Japanese. The camp administration was carried out by US naval medical department personnel. Within a very few days, the main body of prisoners from Corregidor were quartered in Bilibid for a short time prior to their move to Cabanatuan. Many of the patients from Bataan had been brought to Bilibid camp and were under care of naval medical department at the time I arrived in Bilibid on July 2, 1942. The senior medical officer was Commander L.B. Sartin, (MC) USN, the second senior officer, Commander M. Joses (MC) USN. They were acting as commanding officer and executive officer, respectively. The hospital staff was made up of the medical officers from Canacao Naval Hospital, Cavite Navy Yard, and some of the medical personnel of some units of the Asiatic Fleet. The hospital corpsmen were from the same commands before the war as the medical officers. At the time prisoners from Corregidor were moved to Bilibid, the naval medical staff of the 4th Marines and the Asiatic gunboats and some units of the Asiatic fleet were moved to Bilibid and were made a part of the Bilibid medical staff.*

This medical staff operated Bilibid hospital unit until first of October 1943, when there was a

reorganization by the Japanese, when the personnel was reduced by about 50%, and Commander Sartin with about half of his staff was transferred to Cabanatuan prison camp. From October 1, 1943, until October 30, 1944, Commander T. H. Hayes (MC) USN was the senior naval medical officer in Bilibid.

Outgoing prison drafts to Japan. *During this period, camp difficulties were constantly increasing as the food and medical supplies decreased. Another added burden on the camp was the fact that Bilibid was used as an assembling center for outgoing prison drafts to Japan.*

Late in 1944, when Japan was attempting to move American prison personnel out of the Philippines in order to prevent them from falling into American hands, Bilibid hospital staff was reorganized and reduced. All of the senior naval medical officers and practically the entire staff of hospital corpsmen were relieved from duty at Bilibid and placed on outgoing drafts for Japan. The hospital was left under the command of Major W. W. Wilson (MC) USA, who had a staff of about 6 medical officers, 1 chaplain, 2 dental officers, and 70 hospital corpsmen. Practically all of these personnel were US Army. All of the doctors were junior reserve doctors. On October 11, 1944, with an outgoing prison draft to Japan, there were 4 navy doctors (Hogshire, Brokenshire, Ritter, and Ferguson[8]) and 91 navy hospital corpsmen. This draft cleared Manila Harbor on October 11, 1944, and from the best available information headed south. After a few days, this prison ship was driven back into Manila area, in harbor at Mariveles by US submarines, where it remained until October 19, 1944, when it again departed for Formosa. On October 24 about 3 PM, the prison ship was hit by an American torpedo from a submarine, and it was left in a sinking condition. The ship did not sink until about 6 PM, but there was no means of rescue and out of the entire American prison draft of 1,804, all drowned except 9. Five reached the China coast and were returned to American forces. An account of their rescue appeared in Cosmopolitan of April 1945. Four were picked up about 3 days later by a Japanese destroyer and taken to a prison camp in Formosa, where one of them died of exposure the following day. The other three survived prison life and were freed at the end of the war.

Leaving Bilibid. *Early in October, a prison draft of 1,619 was formed at Bilibid for transportation to Japan. On this draft were the remaining members of the naval medical corps who had constituted Bilibid's medical staff for the last year. The naval doctors were: Hayes, C. C. Welch, Connell, Wade, C. L. Welch, LeComte, Nelson, Boone, Barrett, Smith, Lambert, Langdon, and White. There were about 45 naval hospital corpsmen also on this draft. During this period, Manila city was raided at about weekly intervals by US Navy carrier planes, which made their first appearance September 21, 1944. There seemed to be a great deal of difficulty in clearing this draft from Manila area.*

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[8] George Ferguson was one of the four navy doctors whose story is told in Glusman (2005); he and the others knew my grandfather during the war and called him their "adopted father." The hellship he was on was called the Arisan Maru, and Dr. Ferguson was not among the few who survived.

Finally on December 13, 1944, at about 11:30 AM the draft marched out of Bilibid compound to the port area.

The Oryoku Maru. *The draft of 1,619 prisoners arrived on the pier at the port area in Manila carrying all of their personal belongings at about 1 PM, December 13, 1944, to be loaded on a Japanese prison ship for transportation to Japan. From 1 PM until 5:30 PM, while this draft was lying around on the partially-destroyed pier, there was a constant stream of Japanese nationals, women and children, with various articles of their personal belongings loading on the ship. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 civilians were loaded on one of the 5 cargo passenger ships that were loading in the port area at this time. The port area had been about 90% destroyed by Japanese and American bombing. There were 3 or 4 ships that had been sunk while they were tied to the piers and an estimated 30 to 35 ships inside the breakwater that were partly sunk.*

The Oryoku Maru, the Japanese prison ship upon which this group of prisoners was loaded, was a modern passenger cargo liner, a motor ship, built in 1937 or 1938 for service in the Japan Sea on the runs between Japan and Manchuria. This ship was about 7,500 tons, capable of making a speed of more than 22 knots. This ship was in fair condition of upkeep, and from what I saw of it while going aboard, it did not look bad considering it had been operating under wartime conditions. There were 5 of this same type of ship tied up at the piers in Manila that made up the convoy, accompanied by 4 small warship escorts. The prisoners were placed in 3 holds on the ship. The forward hold, or No. 1, contained 580 prisoners; this hold was directly below the forward gun mounts on the ship. No. 2 hold contained 189 prisoners and was just forward of the bridge, the after hold containing the remainder, or approximately 850 prisoners. Conditions in No. 1 hold were moderately crowded; in No. 2 hold there was sufficient room for all prisoners to lie down; but in the after hold, conditions were extremely crowded, the prisoners packed in with insufficient room in which to lie down and conditions of ventilation in this area were horrible, as evidenced by the fact that during the first 36 hours at sea, between 60 and 70 of the prisoners died of suffocation. There were practically no sanitary facilities on board the ship for the use of prisoners; food was delivered to the holds in 5-gallon gasoline tins. This same type of tin was used for toilet facilities.

A target for friendly fire. *The Oryoku Maru got away from Manila about 6 PM December 13 and steamed out of Manila harbor during the early hours of the evening. The evening meal, for prison ship food, was very good; it consisted of a sufficient amount of steamed rice mixed with fish and seaweed. Tea was served that evening for drinking purposes. During the day of the 14th, one meal of plain steamed rice was served about midafternoon. Nothing to eat was served on board ship on the 15th. Sometime during the night of December 13th in Manila Bay area, the convoy of 5 ships with warship escort had assembled and about 9 AM on the morning of the 14th, this convoy was steaming somewhere off the southwestern coast of Luzon in Subic Bay area when it was attacked by American dive bombers. The*

convoy and military escorts put up a very formidable anti-aircraft defense and from the cheering that took place on the topside of the ship, I am of the opinion that at least 2 planes in the attacking 6 waves during the day were shot down. From the best of my observations, the attacking waves of planes were in groups of 6 and 9. The waves of planes would approach the ship, peel off, and dive bomb, releasing their bombs and machine gun fire as they approached the ship. Each wave apparently would make a second run over the ship, strafing with machine gun fire. It is estimated that during the day's attack on the ship, approximately 500 of the Japanese nationals were killed and many more wounded. During this day's attack, the ship was not hit directly by bombs, but a great deal of damage to the superstructure and personnel was done by machine gun fire. During the day's attacks, the convoy had split up. I do not know the fate of the other ships in this convoy, but considering the number of planes in the attack, I do not think it is possible that any of the ships succeeded in escaping. The last wave of planes attacking the Oryoku Maru on December 14th came over at about 4 PM. Sometime during the night of December 14th, this ship came to the Subic Bay area, dropped anchor, and unloaded the Japanese men, women, and children who were wounded and still alive. The bodies of the dead Japanese were left on board ship.

Conditions in the after hold. *It was during the night of December 14th that among the prisoners in the after hold of this ship, where conditions were horrible, a number of deaths occurred from suffocation. The hold was in total darkness. About the only way that air could be kept in circulation was by fanning. There were no open air scoops or cowls for ventilation. The small hatch space was left open, but the part of this section of the ship in which the prisoners were quartered was used for trunk and baggage storage space and was never intended for carriage of personnel and thus had no provision for ventilation. Additional wood platforms were built in order to double deck the space and thus provide more room. Many of the prisoners were quartered in areas that were no more than 4 or 5 feet in height and were tunneled back under the overhead a distance of 20 or 30 feet. It was nearly impossible for sufficient air to reach these spaces. During the night many of the prisoners were in a state of mental confusion and wandering, not knowing where they were or what they were doing. Many of them had hallucinations and became belligerent and had to be restrained in order to prevent them from injuring other prisoners. There were many reports of prisoners imagining that they were being attacked by fellow prisoners. There were instances in which they became so confused mentally that they are said to have drunk urine, slashed their arms and drunk human blood, and done many other acts that are beyond imagination and description. It was during this night that about 60 or 70 of them died of suffocation and about 90% of the remaining prisoners in this hold were in a delirious or a semi-comatose state. Many of them had to be restrained to keep them from leaving the hold and attacking the Japanese guards. There was a constant fighting, yelling, and screaming going on during the night, and according to reports a few of the prisoners were killed by the Japanese guards.*

About 3 AM on the morning of December 15th, the ship moved from its unloading position at

Olongapo to an anchorage about 800 to 1,000 yards off the beach by a stone retaining wall in the channel between the mainland and an island in the Subic Bay area. The Japanese interpreter informed the prisoners that they would soon be unloaded and taken to the beach. By this time, practically all of the personnel except the prisoners, about a dozen Japanese guards, possibly a dozen Japanese ship personnel, and about the same number of Japanese gun crew members, were ashore. All of the prisoners were anxiously awaiting removal from the ship as it was the general opinion that with the coming of daylight the carrier-born navy dive bomber planes would again return. No attempt was made to remove the prisoners.

Friendly and unfriendly fire. *At 8:30 AM on the morning of December 15th, the first wave of planes attacked the ship. The anti-aircraft resistance from the ship was very feeble. The first of the attacking planes got a direct hit, with a medium-size bomb, in the after hold. At the time this bomb hit, the ship was at anchor, and it could be felt to settle by the stern quite appreciably. Immediately after the hit, attempts were made to remove from the ship about a dozen prisoners who had been injured in the previous day's raid. They were on the topside as the second wave of planes came over to attack the ship. Some of them were in a small boat just leaving the ship; this boat was hit by bombs, and sank, resulting in killing and further injuring these prisoners and the Japanese boat personnel.*

The prisoners in the holds were told to come to the topside for a ship abandoning. They were told to take off their shoes and leave all of their baggage behind. There was a rush from the hold to the topside, and as the planes were again circling for the strafing attack, a great number of the prisoners dived over the side and started swimming the 800 to 1,000 yards to the beach, as they felt that they would be safer in the water than aboard the ship during the strafing. When the attacking wave of planes returned to strafe the ship, as they approached and leveled off for the strafing attack, the plane leader had apparently observed that the people abandoning the ship and swimming to the beach were white and not Orientals. The plane leader dipped the plane wings in the conventional recognition sign, and the wave of planes leveled off, flew over, and did not strafe the ship or prisoners in the water.

At this time, I was swimming in the water about halfway between ship and shore. I do not believe that I have ever experienced a more happy moment as I was certainly dreading the strafing attack. The Japanese guards on board the ship were attempting to get the prisoners off as rapidly as possible and to herd them in the direction towards the mainland. Some of the prisoners who had dived over the side of the ship away from the mainland were killed by machine gun and rifle fire by the Japanese guards. It seems as though the Japanese guards were of the opinion that the prisoners who had left from this side of the ship were attempting to escape, and probably some of them were and would.

Very soon after the bomb had hit the after part of the ship, fire started in that section. Quite a number of prisoners had been killed and injured by the bomb or by falling hatch cover planks and "I" beams. Many of them were in a semi-conscious state and were unable to get out of the hold even though

they were uninjured. It was not long until this hold began to fill up with smoke and undoubtedly there were many prisoners who were still alive but were unable physically, principally because of the effects of suffocation, to get out of this hold. It is estimated that there were probably as many as 100 men in the hold that were still alive, who could have been removed had fire, smoke, and heat not made their removal impossible. Some of the prisoners who came to the topside from this hold were in a semi-comatose, dazed condition, did not know where they were, what they were doing or where they were going. Some of them started to wander over the ship, and it is stated that more than a dozen were shot on board ship by the Japanese guards who were unsuccessfully attempting to get them to leave the ship.

The starboard anti-aircraft gun on the bow of the ship had been hit and completely knocked from its mountings and fell over the side of the ship. Many members of the gun crew were killed and the topside of the ship contained many bodies of the ship's company and Japanese nationals that had been killed during the previous day. The Japanese gunners manning the defense guns on board this ship certainly stood by their guns in their feeble defense and as rapidly as one gun crew would be wiped out by the strafing planes, another crew would take its place. They attempted valiantly to defend the ship.

The sinking of the Oryoku Maru in Subic Bay. *The fire that started in the after hold spread throughout the ship and by midafternoon, the ship was again attacked by planes, and apparently a bomb hit in the forward section of the ship in the area of the magazines, as soon after this attack, ammunition began exploding and continued for some time. The ship probably was completely abandoned by personnel by about noon. The fire and bombing in the afternoon and ammunition exploding caused the ship to finally sink about 5 PM on December 15th.*

The prisoners who abandoned the ship and swam to the shore were met by Japanese beach guards. These guards apparently thought that the prisoners would attempt to escape, and they began firing from the beach, resulting in deaths and wounding many of them after they had swum ashore. It should be recalled that at the same time the prisoners were being fired upon from the ship by the Japanese prison guards. After a short time, the guards on the beach began assembling the prisoners between the water's edge and the retaining wall. Many of them were wounded and practically all of them had no clothing or very little clothing, as most of them, when they jumped over the side to swim to the beach, threw off most of their clothes.

On a tennis court at Olongapo. *After about 2 hours, the prisoners were assembled and organized in groups of 50 and marched by Japanese soldiers on the beach a distance of about 1/4 of a mile and grouped under some trees along the roadway near the site of what had been a tennis court for use of the station personnel at Olongapo in peacetime. This was a standard-size tennis court, concrete deck, with a space of 10 feet of grass on each side of the concrete. The area was surrounded by chicken wire netting about 12 feet in height. There was a small gate entrance at one corner of the tennis court, and along one side there was a small shade shelter about 12 to 15 feet in length, under which there was one*

hydrant with running water. Within this compound there was a platform about 10 or 12 feet high, 6 feet square on top, surrounded by railing that apparently had been used as a tennis referee stand.

The prisoners were assembled in groups under the trees near this tennis court and kept there until about 4 PM. During this time, the wounded prisoners were segregated and given what treatment was possible with available supplies, which was practically nothing. That is, their wounds were dressed, hemorrhaging stopped by using parts of clothing that prisoners had swum ashore in. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of December 15th, all of the prisoners were marched inside this enclosed tennis court. The prisoners were counted as they entered the tennis court, and out of the total of 1,619 that had boarded the ship in Manila, there were 1,349 still alive. The 279 that were missing had lost their lives by suffocation on board the ship, been killed by Japanese guards on board the ship, in the water, and on the beach, drowning in attempting to swim ashore, been killed by the bombing and strafing of the ship, or from being in such a comatose condition that they were unable to leave the after hold of the ship after it was bombed.

The 1,349 prisoners that were crowded into the tennis court were assigned spaces, being grouped into 26 rows of 52 prisoners per row. This left room to lie down, but did not leave space in which to wander around, so that all prisoners spent their time either lying or sitting in their designated space. One section of the tennis court near the gate entrance was reserved as space for the wounded prisoners. No food was served to the prisoners on December 15th, 16th, 17th or 18th. On the 19th we were issued dry rice in an amount so that each prisoner received 4 GI spoonfuls[9]. On the 20th, we were issued approximately the same amount of dry rice. On the 21st, we were issued 2 spoonfuls of dry rice in the morning and received the same amount of rice for the evening meal. There was no provision for cooking in the tennis court area. The dry rice that was issued was eaten in that form.

Just outside the compound there were quarters for the Japanese soldiers in that area and outside their quarters were sacks of rice, crates of vegetables, and small barrels of fish. Attempts were made to get some of this food, but the interpreter stated that that food belonged to the Japanese naval landing force personnel and could not be used to feed prisoners. He stated that he was attempting to get food from Filipino sources, but had been unsuccessful. On December 18th, there was received at the tennis court from Manila, presumably from Bilibid, some clothing. This clothing was summer shorts, sport shirts, and a few articles of underwear. All of it was practically beyond serviceable use and was stuff that had apparently been discarded and salvaged from a rag pile. The amount was sufficient to provide one garment of some kind for about 1/3 of the prisoners, so that by the time we left the tennis court with this clothing and what had been brought ashore from the ship, most of the prisoners had at least one article of clothing. I personally swam ashore in my undershorts, and after I arrived on the tennis court an army

[9] The title of the book we published in 1999『GIスプーン 4 杯分の米粒』comes from this episode.

hospital medical corpsman gave me a Japanese baby diaper that he had brought from the ship. I used this to cover my shoulders in the daytime in order to keep from getting sunburned. The water supply on the tennis court was generally speaking sufficient. There were times in which only a small stream of water would flow from the faucet, but by keeping it going 24 hours of the day, sufficient water was furnished for all the prisoners for drinking purposes only. Near the site of the water hydrant, there was an overflow ditch for waste water. This ditch was utilized for a urine trough. Just outside the gate entrance to the tennis court, the prisoners were permitted to dig a small straddle trench, which they used for fecal disposal. Permission had to be secured from the Japanese guards in order to go outside the gate to use this straddle trench, and many times, one would have to wait in line for a half hour before he would be permitted to use it. A few cases of diarrhea had developed, and these prisoners who were unable to get to the straddle trench defecated in the corner of the tennis court near the exit gate. This area was cleaned up frequently, but was still a contaminated mess.

During the 6 to 7 days that the prisoners remained on the tennis court, there were 5 deaths. After much delay the Japanese permitted the burial of these dead in close proximity to the tennis court. During the day, the concrete deck of the tennis court became very hot. Even in December the tropical sun in midday with no provision for shade is very uncomfortable. With the coming of nightfall, the temperature dropped markedly, and by the early morning hours it became very chilly, especially when one considers that our beds were the concrete deck of the tennis court and no bedding or covers of any kind were provided. Nearly daily during our stay in the tennis court, the American navy carrier planes flew over that area bombing military objectives in Subic Bay area. These pilots were definitely aware of the presence of the prisoners on the tennis court and definitely knew that they were white men, as on many occasions they flew directly over the tennis court at a height of not more than 500 to 1,000 feet. We were able to definitely distinguish the planes and could see the pilots. They were bombing anti-aircraft guns within less than 1,000 feet from the tennis court. This is one time when I enjoyed greatly seeing these planes, as I knew that we were not their bombing objective. After 3 days on the tennis court, the Japanese permitted about 2 dozen of the sickest prisoners to be removed from the tennis court to an area just outside under some shade trees about 500 feet distant. In the evenings, these prisoners were brought back into the tennis court.

There was a constant effort made to get food and clothing through the Japanese interpreter, a Mr. Watta (sic)[10]*. His only reply was that it was very difficult to get anything and that he would try to contact Manila and see what he could do for us. Much of the time during the day in the tennis court was spent in attempting to get a correct census of the remaining prisoners. I doubt very much if the Japanese or anybody knows the identity of the prisoners who had lost their lives since we left Manila, although by the*

[10] Wada Shunsuke served as the interpreter for this draft of prisoners.

process of elimination it could be determined that there were 279 less in the group than when we left Manila.

At a theater in San Fernando Pampanga. *During the morning of December 20th, about half of the prisoners were loaded on board a truck convoy and taken from the Olongapo area. On the following morning, the trucks returned for the remainder of the prisoners. Our destination was unknown, but the general consensus of opinion was that we were going to be returned to Manila and probably Bilibid. However, the first group was taken to San Fernando Pampanga and confined in what had been a civilian jail and jailyard space. The second half of the prisoners was taken to the same city and placed in an old theater building. The truck journey to San Fernando took about 6 hours. Prisoners were very crowded in the trucks, there being only standing room, and on many occasions when planes were flying overhead, the convoy would be forced to stop and seek cover underneath the trees by the road. I arrived at San Fernando with the second group about 5 PM on December 21st and was placed in the theater building in that city along with about 650 other prisoners, where I remained until 9 AM on December 24th.*

The prisoners in the theater were moderately crowded, although there was room for all to lie down on the sloping concrete deck. There was running water in the theater, but no toilet facilities. A straddle trench was provided in the theater yard. The food provided at this theater consisted of steamed rice and on one occasion some vegetable soup. The rice was insufficient in amount, being about half of what would constitute a normal ration. No bedding and no clothes were provided while in this theater. Two men died during the period we were here, and 6 or 8 of the injured were taken from the theater by truck, supposedly back to Manila city. However, a later check regarding this small group does not reveal what happened to them, as no trace of any of the 6 or 8 can be made. The general opinion seems to be that they were either taken away from the theater by the Japanese and killed at that time, or were taken somewhere in Manila city area and were killed before or at the time of the arrival of the American forces.[11] *During the stay in the theater, American bombing planes could be heard over the town 2 or 3 times daily. They did not, however, bomb the area in close proximity to the theater.*

A train ride to San Fernando La Union. *At 9 o'clock on December 24th, the prisoners were marched from the theater and jail in San Fernando to the railroad station, a distance of 1/4 mile, and loaded in and on top of freight cars. These cars were small-type Filipino railway cars; about 100 prisoners were crowded into each car, so that there was only standing room. Ventilation in the cars was very poor. There was insufficient room for all of the prisoners to crowd into the car and from 10 to 20 were placed on top of each car. The Japanese interpreter told the prisoners that in case the train was attacked by planes, none of the prisoners were to leave the cars. He did state that those Americans riding*

[11] It was later clarified at the war crimes trials in 1947 that they were killed at or near San Fernando Pampanga.

on top of the cars would be permitted to wave at the planes in hopes that they might be identified as Americans and that the train would not be bombed. A Japanese guard with rifle was stationed in each car. No food or water was provided during the day and night train ride in the freight cars. The train was en route from San Fernando Pampanga to San Fernando La Union, a city in the Lingayen Gulf area on the west coast of Luzon. En route it passed within about a mile distance of Clark Field, site of Japanese air forces. During the passage near this area, the air field was being bombed by American carrier planes, but no attempt was made to bomb or strafe the train. Apparently, the air field, and not the train, was the objective of the bombers.

After a very tiresome journey due to no food, no water, and crowded conditions, the train arrived at San Fernando La Union about 3 AM Christmas morning. The prisoners were unloaded and assembled in an open area near the railroad station, where they were permitted to lie on the ground for 2 hours until daylight. Then they were marched through the city, a distance of 2 miles, and assembled in what had been an elementary school building and yard. Some of the weak and wounded prisoners were placed in the school building; the rest of them were assigned spaces in the schoolyard.

On a sandy beach near San Fernando La Union. *The Japanese officer, Lt. Tashino (sic)*[12]*, who was in charge of this draft, assembled them for a speech, in which he told them that while at this location they would be fed "as usual." There was sufficient water in the schoolyard, and we were given one meal of steamed rice. 5 PM December 25th, the prison draft was assembled and marched a distance of about 2 miles to a sandy beach to await loading on board another Japanese transport. The morale of the prison group at this time was very low, as after our experience in being bombed and sunk at Olongapo, we had all thought and hoped that the Japanese would be unable to continue the journey and that we would be taken back to prison camp in Manila. After we were loaded on board a train, many prisoners thought that our destination was Cabanatuan, but soon after the train got under way it was decided by the people who were familiar with this area that we were not headed for Manila or Cabanatuan, but were probably going to some location in the Lingayen Gulf area. It was nearly dark when we reached the beach area, and we were assembled and assigned spaces on the sand. Off at a distance over the bay, we could see a number of Japanese ships around which there was a great deal of activity unloading war materials, principally guns, small horse-drawn artillery, pack horses loaded with ammunition, etc. The road to the beach was crowded with military supplies and equipment that was being unloaded in this area. Their horses were in very good condition. The equipment was suitable for mountain warfare. They undoubtedly intended to use it in northern Luzon. The night of December 25th, the day of the 26th, the night of the 26th until about 10 AM, and the 27th were spent on the sandy beach. The days were very hot, and the nights were very cold. No bedding or shelter was provided.*

[12] Lt. Toshino Junsaburo was in charge of this draft of prisoners.

During this period, we received one ration of one rice ball for each prisoner. The rice ball was a bulk of steamed rice, a little larger than a regulation-size baseball. On the afternoon of the 26th, we received a small ration of water, enough to provide about 5 GI spoonfuls for each prisoner. During the night of the 26th, American reconnaissance planes were flying over this area, and all lights on board the ships and loading procedures were discontinued for a couple of hours during the air alert. While stationed on the beach one prisoner, a Lt. Colonel, USA, died and was buried in this area. The prisoners were still without sufficient clothing, and during the night they were able to partially keep warm by covering with sand. While on the beach, on one occasion we were permitted to bathe in the ocean. The harbor area in San Fernando La Union contained about a dozen ships that had been partially wrecked by bombing, being sunk with some of their superstructure standing above the water. There was a small unloading pier. The ships were at anchor a short distance from the shore, and loading and unloading procedures were carried out by barges and tugs. Many troops were being unloaded at this port during our 2-day stay here.

Transports No. 1 and No. 2 to Takao Harbor, Formosa. *At 10 AM on the morning of December 27th, the prisoners were marched to the loading pier to be transported to a prison ship in an outgoing convoy. The entire prison draft of approximately 1,328 was supposed to be loaded on one prison ship. However, as the convoy was in a great hurry to get underway, the tugs carrying the prisoners were not all able to load on the one ship, so 1,092 of them were placed on transport No. 1[13] and 236, or the last tugboat load, were placed on another ship, No. 2[14] of the convoy. None of the ships carried a mark of identification to show that American prisoners were on board. The convoy of 8 ships with 2 small warship escorts got underway very soon after the prisoners were loaded aboard and headed north along the west coast of Luzon. This convoy arrived in the harbor at Takao, Formosa, about 8 AM on January 2, 1945, after a rather hectic trip. On December 28th, while off the coast of Luzon, the convoy was attacked by American submarines, and one torpedo was observed to cross the bow of our prison ship, missing it by only a few feet. This incident was observed by American prisoners who were detailed to work on the topside of the prison ship. During the afternoon of January 1st, this convoy was again attacked by American submarines as it was rounding the southern end of Formosa. Many depth charges were dropped, and the ship zigzagged nearly all afternoon and night of January 1st.*

Three ships of the original convoy of 8 ships that had left Lingayen arrived in harbor at Takao, Formosa; the other 5 had been sunk by American submarines. Of the 3 ships that arrived, 2 of them carried American prisoners. None of the 5 that were sunk had prisoners aboard. On prison ship No. 1, on which there were 1,092 prisoners, living conditions were bad; that is, they were crowded, food was

[13] Enoura Maru

[14] Brazil Maru

insufficient, water insufficient, no sanitary facilities, no bedding, etc. During this 7-day trip, 195 of the 1,092 prisoners died, principally from starvation, dehydration, and exposure.

Prison ship No. 2 that carried 236 prisoners had 5 deaths from the same causes. Living conditions on board prison ship No. 2 were not crowded. In fact, prisoners were not supposed to have been carried on this ship; it had recently arrived in Lingayen Gulf and had unloaded horses and war supplies. A small group of the prisoners were permitted to remove some of the wood structure that had been installed in one of the ship's holds for the transport of horses, and it was in this space that the 236 prisoners were quartered. No bedding was provided, although some of the straw and manure that had been in the hold when it contained horses still remained. Upon this we slept. This prison ship was very old, I would estimate probably built in the early 20s; it was a 6- to 8-thousand ton ship, in very poor state of upkeep, estimated speed, probably 12 to 14 knots. The entire ship was filthy, and especially the hold in which the prisoners were quartered. There were many flies, maggots, and much horse manure. The first day on board, December 27th, no food was issued and no water. On the 28th, inquiry was made to the ship's officers through a Formosan guard regarding food. We were told that we were not supposed to be on board this ship and that we were supposed to be on transport No. 1, that all of our food and medicine was on that ship, and that there was nothing there for us. The day of the 28th passed by with no food and no water. On the morning of the 29th, further attempts were made to get food and water. A plea was made to the ship's commanding officer that we must have some food and water, or we would all die. His reply was that he did not give a damn if we died; there was no food and water for us. During the 29th, the Formosan guards, 8 or 10 in number, gave the draft the extra food or garbage that they did not eat from their ration. This amount of food made it possible for each of the 236 prisoners to receive 2 spoonfuls of steamed rice each. Late that afternoon, we were also issued water in amount so that each prisoner received 5 GI spoonfuls of drinking water. On the 30th, the Formosan guards again shared their excess food, and the prisoners received about the same amount of rice as on the previous day. However, water was issued both morning and afternoon on the 30th, so that each man received during that day about 10 spoonfuls of water. On the 31st, the Japanese issued to the draft some dry rations in the form of a hardtack biscuit. Each prisoner received a piece of hardtack biscuit about 3 inches in width, 5 inches in length, and 1/2 inch in thickness. The afternoon of the 31st, we also received an issue of steamed rice, 3/4 canteen cupful to 5 men. The daily issue of water for that day amounted to a dozen GI spoonfuls. On January 1st, we received a ration of steamed rice in midmorning, the same amount as the previous day, and in the afternoon we received a vegetable soup, one canteen cupful of thin soup for 10 men.

The ship arrived in harbor at Takao, Formosa, in the early morning of January 2nd and tied up at a pier. Five men had died on the trip from Lingayen to Formosa. At this time of year in Formosa, the days and nights were becoming chilly, but prisoners were not provided with any more clothing than they had when they left the Philippines. From January 2nd to the afternoon of the 7th, this group of 236

prisoners remained on board prison ship tied up at the pier in Takao Harbor. During this period, our ration and water issue improved. We were issued steamed rice twice daily, one canteen cupful to five men, and water twice daily, from 12 to 20 GI spoonfuls each day. There were no provisions for sanitation. Feed boxes that had been used for the horses on the trip to the Philippines were used by the prisoners for toilets; when full, these boxes were carried to the topside and dumped overboard. Flies and maggots increased in number. The Japanese made no effort to improve conditions. We were entirely without adequate supplies during this trip, and none were provided when we arrived in port.

A cargo of sugar and more friendly fire. *Midafternoon of January 7th, this group of 231 prisoners was moved, by small tugboat, from prison ship No. 2 at the pier to ship No. 1 with the other prisoners, which was anchored in the harbor. The evening meal on board this ship was the usual steamed rice and also a small amount of soup. We learned that prisoners on this ship had fared a little better than on our ship since leaving the Philippines. On January 8th, we received 2 meals of steamed rice and soup. On the morning of January 9th, we received the usual ration of steamed rice, and about 2:30 PM on the afternoon of the 9th, when rice was being issued, this ship was bombed by American carrier planes. During our trip on a tugboat which was going between ships in Takao Harbor, it was observed that there were from 50 to 60 Japanese ships in this harbor. They were anchored singularly with the exception of ship No. 1, which contained the surviving American prisoners and which was tied alongside another ship. During the morning of January 9th, a barge tied up alongside this prison ship and loaded a cargo of sugar on it. The process of sugar loading had been completed by the time of the bombing, but the barge that had contained the sugar was still tied alongside the ship. The navy planes carrying out this raid, from best that prisoners could observe, were only 2 in number. Apparently, they were reconnaissance planes, or some that had branched off from another bombing formation, and had some bombs to get rid of. Apparently, seeing the 2 ships tied together, they chose that as their target, for they could just as well have gone to any one of the 50 or 60 other ships as the one containing American prisoners. At the time of the bombing, midafternoon of January 9, 1945, the forward hold of the ship held 452 prisoners, and the No. 2 hold the remaining 676. The bombs struck the barge and hatch covers at the side and top of hold No. 1, killing 238 of the 452 prisoners in this hold and wounding many others. No. 2 hold, separated from No. 1 by one bulkhead, was less severely damaged. Only 20 deaths occurred in this hold. However, there were many wounded, including myself. I received a shrapnel wound behind the left ear. This bombing disrupted the ship routine and on the 10th, 11th, and 12th, our food was very irregular and in very small amounts. The Japanese would not permit communication between the two holds. Many of the medical staff personnel in the forward hold had been injured or killed, and there were a few available personnel in the after hold whose services could have been used in caring for these wounded men. If the Japanese would have permitted medical personnel to have gone forward into this hold, many deaths could have been averted.*

On January 12th, three days after the bombing, a small group of Japanese or Formosan enlisted medical corps personnel came on board the ship with some iodine and a small amount of dressing to treat the wounded. There were about a half dozen corpsmen in this party. They spent an hour on board ship. They only treated those who were wounded in the No. 2 hold on board ship, and they did not go to the No. 1 hold, the site where most of the prisoners had been killed or injured. On the afternoon of January 12th, the Japanese permitted American prisoners to remove the dead from the ship, that is, those who had been killed and whose bodies had remained in the hold with other prisoners for about 72 hours. By noon of January 13th, the bodies of the 258 that were killed outright, plus the 60 that had died of wounds during the past 72 hours, were removed from the ship. These bodies were taken over the side in cargo nets, dumped on barges, and a detail of American prisoners accompanied them on the barge to the beach in the harbor of Takao. Here the bodies were unloaded by American prisoners, carried a distance of about 500 feet to the top of a small hill, and turned over to a Japanese working detail. From the best information available, it seems that these bodies were taken by the Japanese and cremated.[15]

From Takao to Moji. *About 2 PM on January 13th, the prisoners were moved to another prison ship in the harbor and loaded on board for transportation to Japan. The previous ship had been so badly damaged in bombing attack that it was unable to continue the journey. This prison ship, the fourth one that I had been on since I left the Philippines, had neither a name nor a number designation.*[16] *It was a very old ship, possibly 30 years, about 5,000-ton size, speed approximately 10 knots, general condition and upkeep, very poor. This was a coal-burning ship. After the loading of coal was completed and all the prisoners had been loaded on, this ship, in a convoy with five others and a warship escort of 2 small ships, got under way about dark, January 13, 1945, from Takao, Formosa, for Japan, arriving in Moji, Japan, about 9 AM on January 30, 1945. The conditions on board this ship were no better than on previous prison ships.*

All of the prisoners were placed in one hold in the after section of the ship. We were very crowded, although there was room for all to lie down. No bedding was provided; no sanitary facilities. It must be recalled that prisoners had but very little clothing. There probably was not more than two dozen pair of shoes among the entire group of 810 men who were still alive. Many of the prisoners had only one item of clothing, either their summer shorts or an undershirt. The rest of their bodies were naked. Before this ship had arrived in Japan, the weather had become very cold. There were many days in which it was

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[15] The bodies were buried in a mass grave on Chijin Island across the road from the War and Peace Park, which I visited in 2013.

[16] My grandfather was actually on a total of three different ships, not four. At the time, he did not realize that he had been put back on transport No. 2 (the Brazil Maru), but this has been confirmed by other sources.

raining, sleeting, or snowing. The nights were always below freezing.

Upon arrival in Moji, Japan, on January 30, 1945, there was snow on the ground, and considering the general condition of the surviving prisoners and the amount of clothing they had, it was indeed a very uncomfortable time. Practically no medication was provided for this part of the journey. The Red Cross medicine that originally was allotted for the use of this draft on this journey to Japan had been sunk with the first prison ship in Subic Bay area.

Stealing sugar. *Food on board this prison ship was no better than on the previous ones. During the time from January 13th to January 30th, the average daily ration would consist of 3/4 of a canteen cupful of steamed rice for 4 men twice daily. Our water ration would average about 10 GI spoonfuls per day per man. Some of the prisoners were able to supplement this diet by additional rice and water by trading personnel belongings to the Japanese guards. The amount of food and water secured by this means was very insignificant. In the hold below that in which the prisoners were kept, there was a cargo of sugar. After a few days at sea, when the prisoners learned of the presence of this cargo, some of them at night would go down into the lower hold and steal some of the sugar. This sugar may have added to the diet, but in my opinion, I believe that it was the cause of much diarrhea and probably in general did the prisoners more harm than good. Much of the sugar was only crudely refined. Probably more benefit from the trips down to the lower hold came from the few straw sugar sacks that the prisoners were able to steal that were used for bed covers. The rice consumed during this trip was a type that was known as sigon (sic) rice. This appeared to be a cross between rice and barley. Each grain was surrounded by a fine capsule and unless it is properly cooked and thoroughly chewed it is not digestible and passes through the intestinal tract in the same form in which it is eaten. During this trip, many of the men who were already in a weakened condition died.*

This prison ship left Formosa on January 13th with 810 prisoners and arrived in Moji, Japan, on January 30th with 425 still surviving. 385 had died during this 17-day trip. Death was primarily due to starvation, dehydration, and exposure. Many of the prisoners developed diarrhea. I am inclined to believe that this was a nutritional diarrhea rather than a specific infection. With the rapid loss of fluids through the intestinal tract and the small amount of fluid intake, they became dehydrated very rapidly. Some of them developed a condition of partial lower extremity paralysis before death. Those prisoners who had died during the night were stripped of their clothing, their bodies were piled near the ladder at the exit from the hold in which the prisoners were kept, and about midforenoon the Japanese would permit a burial detail of a half dozen prisoners to carry the bodies to the topside, where they lay on board ship until nightfall. In the early evening, those that had died during the day were removed from the hold and with those bodies that had been removed in the morning were thrown overboard the ship. It soon became quite a deplorable sight to awaken in the morning and see a pile of from 20 to 35 bodies of men that had died during the night.

Five-gallon gasoline tins were the only containers for the serving of food and disposal of urine and feces. As more and more of the prisoners died, the amount of available clothing increased and by the time the ship had reached Japan, most everybody had enough clothing to nearly cover the body. However, there were practically no shoes or sox.

The consequences of stealing sugar. *The Japanese became very mad when they learned that the prisoners had been stealing sugar from the ship's hold. The interpreter, a Japanese named Watta (sic)*[17]*, stated that no food or water would be served to the prisoners until he found out who was responsible for stealing the sugar. A conference was held, and 2 prisoners agreed to take the blame for the sugar stealing in order that the rest of them could be provided with food. These 2 prisoners were reported to the Japanese. The Japanese took them to the topside, made them stand at attention, practically unclothed, for many hours, gave them personal beatings and lectures, but finally permitted them to return to the hold with the rest of the prisoners. Both of these men died before the ship arrived in Japan.*

The average sailing time between Formosa and Japan should be 4 or 5 days. This prison ship took 17 days to make the trip. Most of the steaming was done in the daytime in and out among the islands, and at night a great deal of the time was spent with the ship at anchor. No airplane attacks were encountered on this trip, but submarine alerts were a common occurrence. Only 3 of the 5 ships that left in this convoy reached Japan. For 4 or 5 days of this trip the prison ship was used to tow another ship that had been damaged by a submarine torpedo.

Reception in Japan. *On the morning of the arrival of the ship in Moji, Japan, the Japanese who came aboard seemed to be a little surprised as well as ashamed of the conditions of this prison draft. However, when they were informed that one member of the draft had died of diphtheria, they forced all of the remaining prisoners to stand around in the cold weather, exposed, while they conducted an examination. Just before the prisoners left the ship, some clothing was issued to those who did not have enough clothes to cover their bodies. It must be recalled that at this time of year the weather is cold in Japan; the ground is frozen, covered with snow and ice. Many of the surviving prisoners were in an extremely poor condition; however, they were herded off the ship and marched barefooted in the snow for 3 or 4 city blocks and were quartered in an empty theater building, where they remained most of the day. They were separated into small groups and taken to prison camps on the island of Kyushu.*

Questions About the Manuscript

In many ways, my grandfather's manuscript is quite detailed in its description of his life in Bilibid Prison in Manila and his journey to Japan on the hellships, but on the following important points, it

[17] Wada Shunsuke

was unclear: which hold he was in on the Oryoku Maru and which ships he traveled on for the remainder of the journey. Fortunately, I was recently introduced to fellow researcher James Erickson, son of Oryoku Maru survivor Major Albert W. Erickson, who was able to answer my questions and kindly forwarded my grandfather's deposition from the war crimes files in the US National Archives to me. He writes:

> . . . Your grandfather, along with most of the Bilibid medical group was placed in the middle hold of Oryoku Maru. It was the largest on the ship and had the fewest POWs. It was the only one with tolerable conditions on that ship. (The statement about the middle hold in the deposition is backed up by Bilibid and ship's rosters that place him in Group III of those slated for the ship.) Since your grandfather was in the middle hold (technically #2 hold) it is very likely he was taken to Taiwan aboard Brazil Maru. He would have been transferred to the main group of POWs on Enoura Maru on 6 Jan 1945. After that point all the POWs were together for the remainder of the voyage. . . . None of the men knew the names of the 2nd and 3rd ships. They were revealed after the war in war crimes investigations. I think most men in your grandfather's group didn't realize that they were put on the same ship. On the way to Taiwan they were in the 2nd hold (forward of bridge) and to Japan they were in holds 3 and 4 aft. The Brazil Maru was a WWI era cargo ship that looked like any other ship. A few men did recognize it was the same ship, while others have argued for years afterwards that it wasn't. Japanese records and depositions make it clear it was the same ship. (J. Erickson, private communication, September 4, 2013)

This information clarifies the fact that my grandfather was not in the after hold, where conditions on the Oryoku Maru were the worst, with prisoners going crazy in the darkness, doing things "beyond imagination and description" and some dying from suffocation or acts of violence. It confirms that he was on the Oryoku Maru from Manila to Olongapo, the Brazil Maru from Olongapo to Takao Harbor, the Enoura Maru in Takao Harbor, and finally back on the Brazil Maru for the final leg of the trip to Moji. It also explains why my grandfather himself thought he was on four different ships on the voyage from Manila to Moji, instead of three.

Reasons the POWs Were Taken to Japan

"Why," I asked Mr. Wada, a researcher on the staff of the Military Archives at the National Institute for Defense Studies in Ebisu, "were prisoners of war transported from camps in the Philippines and other parts of Asia to Japan? Was this official government policy?" He introduced me

to a report,「捕虜ニ関スル諸法規類集」(Anthology of Military Rules Concerning Prisoners of War), which was published in 1946. The following is a translation of the「方針」(Policy) section on「俘虜処理要領」(1942年5月5日) (The Treatment of Prisoners) (May 5, 1942):

1) White prisoners of war will be used as laborers for the enhancement of our industry. They will be used for labor related to military production. They will also be sent as laborers to Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and China, where prison camps will be established for them.
2) Prisoners who are not white and do not need to be kept in prison camps will be released on the condition they promise not to engage in military activities against Japan, but will be used in some capacity in the local area. (p.168)

According to both Nagai (1995) and Tachikawa (2007), men of European ancestry were thought to have a certain level of skill that would benefit Japanese industry, and since many Japanese men had been sent abroad with the military, it was thought that these prisoners, especially, could supply the necessary labor. The policy of sending the prisoners of European ancestry to Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and China was instituted in order to show the dominance and superiority of the Japanese race to people in those countries. The second policy was seen as a way to circumvent international law. Nagai noted that the mainland of Japan was not included in the list of countries where prisoners would be taken because of a disagreement among the policymakers in the government, but the final version did not preclude bringing prisoners to Japan. The day this policy was issued (May 5, 1942) should be noted. By the end of March 1942, the Japanese already had captured 200,000 Allied prisoners, and they knew there would be more after the expected the fall of Corregidor, which came the next day, May 6, 1942.

A Book About the Hellships

In *Death on the Hellships*, Michno (2001) paints a picture of life and death on the ships used by the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy to transport Allied prisoners of war and Asian forced laborers (*romusha*) to other parts of the empire, a comparatively unknown part of the saga of World War II. He also gives some reasons for the silence of the men who survived voyages on the hellships and returned home after the war: the onus of being captured, an unwillingness to relive a bad experience, a sense of guilt about surviving or shame about the things they had to do in order to survive, and the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder. Michno estimates that the Imperial Japanese Army captured more than 300,000 Allied troops in their conquest of Asia in the opening months of World War II. Many of the native Asian prisoners (for example, Chinese, Korean,

Indonesian, Indian, and Filipino) were eventually released, leaving approximately 140,000 white men of European ancestry (American, Australian, British, Canadian, and Dutch) as prisoners of war. It seems that the Imperial Japanese Army, with its strict precept for its own soldiers on not becoming prisoners, was rather unprepared for this this contingency. Michno explains:

> By the fall of 1942, Japanese prisoner distribution had formed a pattern. First, the large manpower pool still in Java and Singapore would be tapped for the Burma Railway project, resulting in a flow of men from the outer islands to the Asian mainland. Second, the successful experiment to bring white POWs north for the edification of the Koreans would be continued. Realizing, however, that the POWs could be used for more than propaganda purposes, they were shipped in droves to the empire as slave laborers. Prisoners could work at scores of jobs, in dockyards, factories, cottage industries, shipyards, coal and copper mines, and on construction gangs. Third, on a smaller scale, and almost as a cross-current of the first two trends, ad hoc prisoner groups continued to be shipped among the conquered islands for a number of reasons. . . . (p. 42)

In the Appendix to his book, Michno lists 156 voyages of 134 hellships in the years 1942 to 1945, but he says that the list is far from complete. The majority of the prisoners on the ships he listed were white men of European ancestry, which made their stories easier to gather and document; it is not possible, he says, at this time to estimate the number of additional hellships that transported the Asian *romusha*.

My grandfather's story about his experience on the Oryoku Maru, Brazil Maru, and Enoura Maru is corroborated in the sections of the book that cover the last of the hellships in the period from December 1944 to January 1945. According to Michno's calculations, from 1942 to 1945, a total of 126,064 POWs of European ancestry were transported on voyages totaling 1,639 days, and 21,064 (16%) of them died. The number of deaths on the combined voyage of the Oryoku Maru, Enoura Maru, Brazil Maru was not the largest,—that was the Junyo Maru on which 5,620 out of 6,520 POWs died—nor was the percentage of deaths the highest—that would be the Arisan Maru on which only 8 (0.4%) out of 1,800 POWs survived—nor did it take the greatest number of days to travel from the Philippines to Japan—that was the Canadian Inventor, which took 62 days to make the trip in the summer of 1944. It was, however, among the last of all such voyages, undertaken at a time when the Japanese were in a great rush to evacuate all civilians as well as POWs from the Philippines, and it included all of the worst elements of the hellship experience. According to Michno's account, Lt. Toshino Junsaburo, who was in charge of the draft of prisoners that included my grandfather, and his interpreter Wada Shunsuke were "both merciless in their dealings with the

POWs," the "conditions in the holds matched or exceeded the worst of the hellships," and prisoners who went crazy in the darkness "were killed to keep them from killing others in the frenzy." (pp. 258-261)

As if the lack of fresh air, food, water, clothing, sanitation, and medical care were not enough for the men to bear, they were also the victim of multiple attacks of friendly fire. So many prisoners were dying at sea in the European theater that in 1940, the Red Cross proposed that the combatants refrain from attacking ships carrying prisoners, but the Allied and Axis powers were unable to agree on this or any other proposal concerning the fate of prisoners at sea, with devastating results. According to Michno (2001),

> In November 1942, the Allied Joint Chiefs of Staff concluded that "in view of the extreme importance of attacking enemy shipping and of the relatively small number of casualties to prisoners of war so caused, no prohibition should be placed at present" on the attack of enemy ships. The directive was specifically focused on Mediterranean operations. Apparently the Joint Chiefs did not think through the implications of their decision for the POWs in the Far East. (p. 88)

Indeed, by the end of 1943, the Allies were able to exert ever-increasing pressure on Japanese shipping. There were several reasons for this: there were more submarines stationed in the Pacific, problems with the design of torpedoes had been remedied, and most importantly, Japanese codes had been broken. Radio intelligence, known as Ultra or Magic, became a powerful weapon in the war effort, allowing submarines to more easily find and destroy major warships, as well as slow-moving convoys of ships carrying supplies and often prisoners. In fact, Ultra, which was not declassified until 1974, was so effective that according to Michno's calculation, only about 7% of the deaths of POWs at sea were caused by intolerable treatment. The other 93% were caused by friendly fire from Allied submarines or planes:

> It was a no-win situation for both sides. The Allies often knew the names of the ships carrying POWs, but even so, the submarines could not identify individual ships in a convoy. There were no flags saying "POWs here," and since subs could not get close enough to see ship names, even if not painted out, there was no way to distinguish one from another. They were ordered to go after a convoy. It would not be prudent to mention POWs; it would be counterproductive, would perhaps make sub captains tentative in their attacks, would raise ethical and moral arguments, and it would open up avenues for possible legal actions by victims seeking reparations. (p. 295)

After reading this book, it was easy to understand why many of the ex-POWs said that their time on the hellships was by far the worst part their time in captivity, and for the men who were on Bataan or Corregidor in the Philippines, it must have been horrible to know they were doubly "expendable." Survival in the prison camps, such as Bilibid, seems to have been partly a matter of luck and partly a matter of each man's ability to deal with adverse conditions and cooperate with other men when necessary. Survival on the hellships, on the other hand, seems to have been much more a matter of chance. A classic example of the ultimate in bad luck would be being a prisoner of war in the hold on a hellship where a torpedo struck in an attack of friendly fire.

A Brief History of Taiwan

On visiting the Hellships Memorial at Subic Bay in the Philippines in March 2013, we found out that there was a sister memorial in Taiwan. According to "Never Forgotten", the web site of the Taiwan POW Camps Memorial Society:

> The Taiwan Hellships memorial was erected in early January 2006 and dedicated on the 26th of that month. It was built to honour all the prisoners of war who suffered and those who died on the terrible hellships in Taiwan waters while being transported by the Japanese to places of enslavement. Taiwan was a Japanese colony and secure base and port of call for many of the hellships en route from Singapore and the Philippines to Japan. Almost 30,000 POWs went in and out of the ports of Takao (Kaohsiung) and Keelung from 1942–1945. Over 4,350 POWs stayed on Taiwan to slave for the Emperor and many later left from here on these ships to go to Japan and Manchuria.

After reading this, I realized that before visiting Taiwan to see this memorial, I would need to know more about how it fit into the puzzle that was World War II.

Taiwan is now known as the Republic of China (ROC), which also includes the Penghu islands (Pescadores) and several other small islands in the Western Pacific Ocean. Across the Taiwan Strait, 130 km to the west, is the southeast coast of mainland China, and 250 km to the south is the Philippine island of Luzon. Taipei, the capital, is 2,101 km southwest of Tokyo, but just 278 km from Ishigaki-jima, one of the southernmost islands of Okinawa prefecture. The island of Taiwan is often described as having the shape of a tobacco leaf or a sweet potato; to me, it looks like a feather with a mountain range as the shaft. In size, it is somewhat larger than Belgium, but smaller than Switzerland.

The present population of Taiwan is about 98% Han Chinese and 2% aboriginal. Human remains dating from 20,000 to 30,000 years ago, when Taiwan was still joined to the mainland by a land bridge, have been found. The ancestors of the Taiwanese aborigines are thought to have migrated to the island by sea about 4,000 years ago from the mainland. After that, contact was sporadic, but beginning in the 15th century, the Hoklo from Fujian Province who were dissatisfied with conditions on the mainland began to make their way to Taiwan. They were later joined by the Hakka, another group of ethnic Chinese that left the mainland in large numbers.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to see the island, which they called *Ilha Formosa* (Beautiful Island), in 1544, and other European colonial powers soon cast their eyes on Taiwan. The years from 1622 to 1662 are known as the "Dutch Formosa" period, when the Dutch had a trading route that stretched from Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia) to Japan with a trading port in Taiwan along the way. The Spanish also tried to establish a foothold in the northern part of Taiwan in 1626, but they withdrew in 1638 due to the effects of natural disasters, disease, and attacks by local aborigines, and the Dutch took over their territory.

In the closing days of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), disaffected Ming loyalists began moving to Taiwan. Koxinga (Zheng Cheng-gong), who was born of a Chinese father and a Japanese mother in Nagasaki prefecture, Japan, is credited with driving the Dutch out and setting up the first Han Chinese government on the island. It was his intention to return to the mainland to overthrow the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), but in 1683, his forces were defeated by Qing forces in the Battle of Penghu. Taiwan was governed by the Qing as a part of Fujian province until April 1895, when it was ceded to Japan—along with the Penghus (Pescadores) and the Liaodong Peninsula, as well as control of the Korean peninsula—in the Treaty of Shimonoseki after the First Sino-Japanese War[18]. In reaction to this unwanted development, a group of Taiwanese issued their own Declaration of Independence and tried to form the Taiwan Democratic Republic in May 1895, but after five months of fighting, the Republican forces surrendered to the Japanese.

The Legacy of Colonization

There followed about fifty years of colonization, and during this time, the Japanese did much to modernize the island by building roads, rail lines, factories, hospitals, and schools. Taiwanese joined the Japanese military, and Taiwan became the site of major Japanese military bases, a supply hub for bases in other parts of Asia, and the location of POW camps during World War II. The island was

[18] Fought between China's Qing Dynasty and Meiji Japan (August 1, 1894 - April 17, 1895). As a result of this victory, Japan became the dominant power in East Asia.

subject to US bombing raids, but in spite of its extensive military and industrial infrastructure, Taiwan, unlike the Philippines, was never used as a battlefield during the war. According to Roy (2003):

> Taiwanese responded enthusiastically to the opportunity to serve in the Japanese armed forces, which came with the expansion of the campaign in China in 1937. Indeed, until the Japanese resorted to general conscription on Taiwan in the last few months of the war, many more Taiwanese applied for service in the Imperial army and navy than the Japanese could take in. . . . Over 80,000 Taiwanese served Japan as soldiers and sailors during the war. Another 126,000 Taiwanese were employed by the Japanese military in noncombatant roles (nurses, porters, interpreters, etc.). Some 30,000 lost their lives. This enthusiasm for Japanese military service is partly a testament to the success of the colonial education system in inculcating pro-Japan values and attitudes among Taiwanese youth. These young Taiwanese may also have perceived that military service offered a chance to move from the status of colonial subjects to that of equals with the Japanese. And, of course, raised on glamorized stories of Japanese military gallantry and inevitable success, most recruits would not have anticipated the wretched fate that awaited their units during the latter stages and aftermath of the Pacific War. (p. 53)

What is the legacy of the Japanese colonization of Taiwan? Roy describes the Taiwanese attitude toward the half century of Japanese occupation as "ambivalent"; Manthorpe (2005) describes it as "ambiguous and subject to partial interpretations." In his view:

> It remains pertinent today because so many Taiwanese of the older generation are inclined to view that period as, on balance, beneficial to the island. This judgment is in marked contrast to the abiding hatred of Japan in other colonial territories such as Korea and Manchuria. This is in part because Japanese rule was a good deal more brutal in those territories than on Taiwan. But Beijing remains outraged that Taiwanese retain a mild affection toward Japan. It is seen as ethnic and spiritual corruption. This reaction certainly prompts some Taiwanese to espouse a gentler view of the Japanese colonial experience than they truly feel or is justified. Many island nationalists are willing to see merit in any stance that enrages Beijing.
>
> There is a wider and less provocative strand of thought among islanders that sees the period of Japanese rule as an essential element in Taiwan's story, for both good and ill. The regimentation and cultural indoctrination of the Taiwanese as well as the ever-present, insufferable demonstrations of racial superiority by the Japanese made aspects of life grim.

> But there was the benefit of dramatic social and economic development in the half century of rule by Japan. It brought the islands standards of efficient and clean government against which the Qing administration before and the Kuomintang after compared poorly. In their battles for some voice in their own government, Taiwanese developed a sense of their own identity and their island's distinction as a community. This experience formed the base for today's attitude toward independence and mainland China. (p. 177)

It wasn't until after World War II that the history of Taiwan really became an international case study in politics with a capital "P." In 1945, after the war ended, it was handed over to the Republic of China, and within a short time, it was embroiled in the postwar conflict on the mainland. Chiang Kai-shek and the remains of his nationalist government (the Kuomintang) fled to Taiwan after the Chinese civil war ended in 1949, and once again, Taiwan became the staging area for a group of Chinese who thought they were there only temporarily while they prepared to retake the mainland. For decades, the Kuomintang forcefully dominated the island while they remained at loggerheads with the Communist government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland. These days, however, as the Old Guard of the Kuomintang has passed away, Taiwan has evolved into a multiparty democracy. There are extensive economic ties between the ROC and the PRC, tourists from the mainland are much in evidence, and relations could almost be described as "friendly." Neither Japan nor the United States is among the handful of countries (23) that currently recognize the Republic of China as a sovereign state, but the plucky people of Taiwan seem to be finding ways to survive.

A Visit to Taiwan

During Golden Week in 2013, we made a short trip to the port city of Kaohsiung (formerly known as Takao) in southern Taiwan, to see the Taiwan Hellships Memorial.

The flight from Narita to Taipei took about three hours. From there, we got on the High Speed Rail (HSR) that travels along the fertile plains on the west coast, passing farmland and factories, and arrived in Kaohsiung ninety minutes later. Even for first-time visitors who do not speak Chinese, the transportation system was very easy to navigate, and my first impressions were of a clean, well-organized country with friendly people. We had taken advantage of the string of holidays that are celebrated in Japan in late April and early May to make this trip. It is a time when the weather is good and everyone in the country seems to be on the move in Japan, so perhaps the most striking thing about Taiwan was the lack of crowds in the places we visited. Our hotel overlooked the Love River and the "Soaring Dragon Fish" statue, and in the distance I could see the

busy harbor and the area where the Enoura Maru had been docked on that fateful day in 1945. May is the beginning of the rainy season in Taiwan, and in the middle of the first night, I was awakened by a crack of thunder that sounded eerily like a bomb explosion.

On our first full day in Kaohsiung, we headed for our main objective on this trip: the Taiwan Hellships Memorial. We got up early, took the ten-minute ferry ride from Gushan Ferry Pier to Chijin Island, then a taxi to the War and Peace Park, arriving there at about 8:00 AM. No one was around, and the Taiwan Veterans' Museum, which is located in the park, was not scheduled to open until 10:00 AM. We had printed out a photograph of the Taiwan Hellships Memorial that we had found on the Internet, so we wandered around the park looking for the monument. A short while later, it came as something of a shock to realize that the pile of rubble on the other side of the chicken wire fence with the large "Keep Out" sign had indeed at one time been the monument. I had almost two hours to speculate on what had happened. It must have been an act of vandalism, I concluded, probably for political reasons, but I could not imagine who could have done it. We tried to ask a woman, a caretaker at the park who had come to pull weeds, but she only shook her head in a way that meant "I don't know." One man who was taking a walk through the park said that the damage had been done by a typhoon, and later, another young man who had a small, radio-operated car and spoke English fairly well said the same thing—a typhoon. But, we knew that this could not be the whole story. We decided to go across the street to the open field to try to find the location of the mass grave where the men who died in the attack on the Enoura Maru had been buried. We had printed out a map that we found on the Internet, so we knew approximately where it should be, but we found no marker. We tried showing the map to a man who was working in a small factory nearby. He consulted with his wife, but they only shook their heads in a way that meant "We don't know." We went back to the field, and after pacing off the distances on the map, were pretty sure that we had found the right location. Part of the time, we were followed by a pack of the stray dogs that seem to be quite common in Taiwan.

It was getting close to the time the museum should open, so we returned to the War and Peace Park to wait. Promptly at 10:00 AM, several people from the museum arrived in a car, along with a visitor from Japan who had made arrangements for a special tour. We fell into conversation with them, and they graciously allowed us to join them that morning. In answer to my pressing question about what had happened to the Taiwan Hellships Memorial, they explained that indeed the typhoon season last year (July-August 2012) had been unusually destructive, and about 100 meters of the cliff on the outer (ocean) side of the island near the monument had been lost to erosion, so they had taken it down. They then took us around to the back of the museum and removed the tarp that was covering the memorial stone to prove to us that it was safe, and they said that plans are now being made to redesign the War and Peace Park and rebuild the monument at another location.

Inside the museum, they pointed out displays that would be of particular interest to us, explained the history of the War and Peace Park, and gave us a selection of pamphlets and books. They were interested in hearing my grandfather's story and our reasons for making the trip to Kaohsiung. They also confirmed the location of the mass grave in the field across the street, but they said that the bodies were no longer buried there, and I learned that the Enoura Maru had been docked on the inner (harbor) side of the island about 200-300 meters to the south.

Everything on display in the museum was sad, including the story of Hsu Chao-jung, the man who worked for many years trying to establish it. Out of frustration, he committed suicide by self-immolation on May 20, 2008. The park and museum were opened the following year, and a marker now stands at the place where he died. He was like a father to Wu Tsu-jung, the executive director of the museum, and we were presented with a book Mr. Wu had written about him.

For further information about the Taiwan Hellships Memorial and the mass grave, Jeff Juang, the manager of the museum, put me in touch then and there with Michael Hurst, the director of the Taiwan POW Camps Memorial Society, using his cell phone. According to Mr. Hurst, the US government had the bodies exhumed several years ago and transferred to the Punchbowl Cemetery in Honolulu, Hawaii. Unfortunately, very few could be identified. Mr. Hurst was present at the dedication of the Hellship Memorial at Subic Bay and also at the dedication of the Taiwan Hellships Memorial, which was held three days later on January 26, 2006. He and his organization are responsible for the 11 memorials that have now been put up in Taiwan in memory of the 16 POW camps that were on the island, and they are working on getting a suitable memorial for the men from the Enoura Maru who are now buried in Punchbowl Cemetery in Honolulu.

When I read my grandfather's manuscript, I had been intrigued by the story of the sugar that was loaded onto the Brazil Maru when the ship was in Takao Harbor, stolen and eaten by the prisoners on the way to Japan, and was then the cause of further ill health and punishment for them. When we began to make arrangements to visit Taiwan, we discovered that sugar refining was among the many industries in the Kaohsiung area. One day during our trip, we took the Red Line train to the northern part of the city to visit the old Ciaotou Sugar Factory, which is now a large, historical park. We walked through the old, abandoned buildings and around the park, pausing to read the many informative signs that were posted around the area in Chinese and English. We learned that the Ciao-Zih-Tou Sugar Refinery, the first modern sugar refinery in Taiwan, was established on February 15, 1901 (the 34th year of the Japanese Meiji era), by the Japanese Mitsui Consortium. Machines were shipped from Japan to Takao Harbor that year, and the factory was completed in October. It was used to manufacture sugar using raw sugar cane grown on the island from January 1902 until February 1999. On September 19, 2002, Ciao-Zih-Tou Sugar Refinery was declared a Kaohsiung County historical site that now occupies a total area of 23 hectares and

contains 19 places of historical interest, as well as shops and restaurants.

That afternoon, we returned to the downtown area of Kaohsiung via the Red Line train to walk through the 100-year-old covered market, where traditional Chinese dried foods of every description are sold, and along the Love River. In the Japanese colonial period, Takao was turned into an industrial area, and it was an important base and transport hub for the military, two factors which made it a target for American bombers. It is now the second-largest city in Taiwan, still the center of heavy industry as well as the largest port in the country, but it is reinventing itself. In the last ten years, the industrial focus has shifted toward high technology and automation, and an effort has been made to clean up the air and water pollution that accompanied rapid industrial growth, to expand the tourism industry, and to attract artists and designers. It feels like a city on the move.

Afterword

In his book, Michno included one example of a ship called the Toyama Maru that was sunk by a US submarine in June 1944. Of the 6,000 men aboard, 5,600 were lost, and the survivors described conditions on board as "life for beasts." The level of the amenities on this ship was the same as that of the Oryoku Maru or any of the other hellships; the difference was that the Toyama Maru was carrying soldiers of the Imperial Japanese Army at that time, not prisoners of war. He writes:

> This was the Japanese version of hell—not far different from the Allied version. It does not justify Japanese treatment of Allied prisoners, but it does open a window to their perspective. At his trial after the war, General Tojo said that there had been no intention of cruel or inhumane behavior. "It was unfortunate that standards which a Japanese soldier would not find unbearable had apparently proved to be inadequate for western prisoners." (p. 286)

Really? At the time we interviewed Ojisan (my husband's uncle) about his experiences as a soldier in the battle of Saipan and later as a POW in American prison camps, we never thought to ask him detailed questions about conditions on the transports he was on during the war, and he said nothing about them. It is now, though, a question of great interest.

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Appendix

The following chart was found among the papers accompanying my grandfather's manuscript. It lists the number of men who died on each stage of the journey from Manila to Moji. It shows that just 425 (26%) of the men survived their journey on these hellships, and six weeks after their arrival in Japan, only 285 (18%) out of the 1,619 men in the original draft of prisoners were left.

	Casualties	Total
Oryoku Maru, December 13, 14, 15, 1944—Total No. Men		**1,619**
Olongapo (tennis court), December 15 to 21—Died	279	1,340
Returned to Manila—Injured	6	1,334
San Fernando Pampanga (jail & theatre), December 21, 22, 23—Died	5	1,329
Train from San Fernando Pampanga to San Fernando La Union, December 23 & 24—Died	0	1,329
San Fernando La Union (schoolhouse), December 25—Died	0	1,329
San Fernando La Union (beach), December 25, 26, 27—Died	1	1,328
En route San Fernando to Formosa, December 27, 1944 to January 2, 1945 and at Takao Harbor, January 2 to 9, 1945		
Prison Ship #1 (1,092 men)—Died	195	1,133
Prison ship #2 (236 men)—Died	5	1,128
Prison Ship #1 bombed in Takao Harbor, January 9, 1945		
Forward hold (452 men)—Died	238	890

No. 2 hold (676 men)—Died	20	870
Takao Harbor, Formosa, January 10 to 13—Died	60	810
En route Formosa to Moji, Japan, January 13 to 31—Died	385	**425**
Moji Theatre Building (425 men), January 31, 1945—Died	8	417
Within 6 weeks of arrival in Japan		
Military Hospital, Moji (110 men)—Died	73	344
Fukuoka Camp #3 (100 men)—Died	35	309
Fukuoka Camp #17 (96 men)—Died	15	294
Fukuoka Camp # 1 (111 men)—Died	9	**285**

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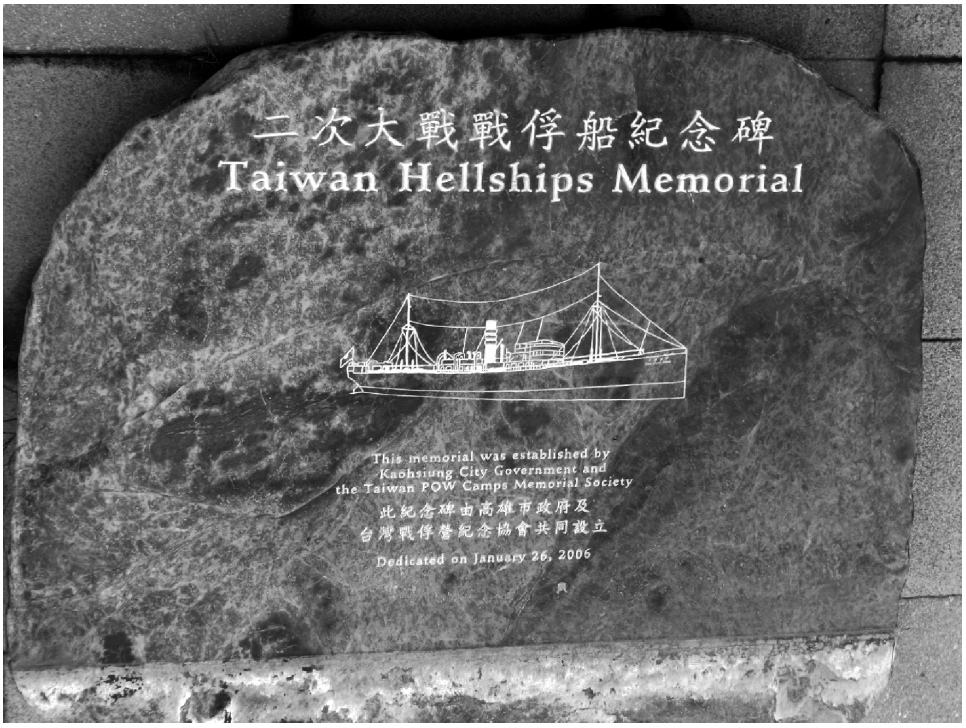
Entrance to Old Bilibid Prison (now known as Manila City Jail), Manila, Philippines

Hellships Memorial, Subic Bay, Philippines

Taiwan Hellships Memorial as it looked on May 1, 2013, Chijin Island, Taiwan, ROC



Taiwan Hellships Memorial stone. Plans are now being made to put it up again at another location.